

2/1 - NYT - Pakistani journalists have suggested that Moscow may be putting too much faith in Pakistan's ability to control the mujahideen.

- LAT - Gen. Boris Gromov, the Soviet commander in Afghanistan, said that after the Soviet troops pull out, Moscow will no longer use its air power to support the ROA Gov't.

2/2 - NYT - Jon Glassman, the charge d'affaires who oversaw the closing of the US Embassy in Kabul, said in New Delhi that the possibility of a coup in the ROA Gov't might be likely. A coup could come from within the PDPA or from party & gov't employees who are sympathetic to the guerrillas. Regarding a bloodbath, he said, "The bloodbath is taking place now."

2/3 - LAT - On Massoud's strategy:

"Massoud's strategy will be, choke the capital, spread panic and anger toward the government through the people and the army and hopefully force a coup or a popular uprising against Najibullah," said one Western diplomat, whose government, like the United States, has favored the *mujahideen*.

"When you look at all the warring factions within the *mujahideen*, Massoud and his men are the real bright spot. And when you look at the importance of that tunnel, Massoud is the right man in the right place at the right time."



Massoud

2/5 - NYT - Shevardnadze arrived in Islamabad to confer with Pakistanis in an effort to avert political chaos & violence in Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. He told reporters at the airport: "It is not by mere chance that I am here. A number of questions & problems are arising." He hopes to meet with Mojadidi when Mojadidi returns from Iran.

Furthermore, hopes here that Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan will be able to build a close association of regional Islamic nations after the Soviet withdrawal depend on the establishment of a shura that satisfies both Teheran, which supports Afghanistan's minority Shiite Muslims and Islamabad, which backs Sunni guerrilla armies.

"Pakistan is trying to get this shura so that an alternative to the Government in Kabul can be presented to the Soviet Union and to the rest of the world," said Kamal Matinuddin, a retired general who heads Pakistan's Institute of Strategic Studies. . . .

He said that the future of the Najibullah regime depended on access to the cities. If these are cut off effectively, the regime will fall more quickly, he said.

"The worst scenario for Kabul would be a coup from within," he added, followed by an invitation to the guerrillas, or holy warriors, as they style themselves.

"That would mean the likelihood of a bloodbath, at least a short bloodbath," he said.

2/5 - LAT - Yuli Vorontsov is in Tehran to meet with the Iran-based coalition of Afghan rebel groups.

2/6 - PT - Tass reported that Kabul is now under martial law; weapons have been distributed to all party organizations so everyone can "defend the cause for which the Afghan people suffered so many losses."

- Moh'd Hassan Sharq's wife & son flew to Delhi on 2/4 on an unscheduled Indian airlines flight which also carried families of other Afghan officials. Young Sharq is an Ariana pilot.

- Expatriate Afghans attending the Shoora include Mr. Tarzi (from Jeddah), Samad Hamid, Dr. Sarwary, Abdul Sattar Sirat & a 16-member delegation from Europe.

- LAT - Pravda reported that the last Soviet soldiers left Kabul yesterday. However some remain at the Kabul airport & in other areas of the country.

- NYT - After signing a pact with Afghan leaders in Tehran, Mojadidi said that Afghan guerrillas would make up ½ the 560-570 member shura. Other members will be selected from the clergy, exiles & "faithful Muslims living inside Afghanistan."

- CSM - Edward Girardet writes on the shura:

Another obstacle is gaining acceptance for the shura among the commanders and civilians inside Afghanistan. Many of them believe the shura is a last-ditch attempt by the Peshawar politicians to maintain their posts and control over the resistance.

Various commanders and representatives from councils inside Afghanistan have protested the legitimacy of the shura. They resent the corruption and political bickering that for years has characterized the political parties based in Pakistan. They also see little reason for now supporting those, who, for almost a decade, failed to create unity.

"They do not care about the people, only themselves. They make money, have big cars and are not hungry. They have never fought the war. Only the people [have fought]," says Muhammad

Gul, a refugee and former civil servant, in halting English.

In addition, the shura is widely seen as a creation of the Pakistani government, particularly the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) as the military intelligence organization is known. According to Western diplomats, international aid and resistance sources, Pakistan is intent on retaining influence over the resistance through the shura.

"It is quite clear that the Afghans will never be able to choose their own independent shura or government as long as it is done on foreign soil," says a West European aid coordinator.

Many commanders say they will not be able to speak freely in the shura. "We will go," says one commander from Kabul Province. "If we do, and they do not listen us, then we will leave."



Do you understand what we're fighting about?

2/7 - PT - The ICRC has opened 1st aid posts in Kunar & Paktia.

- Tass changed the wording of its martial law report (see 2/6) to "Kabul is practically under martial law."

- LAT - A Soviet army spokesman said Soviet troops were still in 5 of Afghanistan's 26 provinces, mostly in the north.

- Shevardnadze left Islamabad without meeting any guerrilla leaders. Many think his visit was a PR ploy to show the ROA Gov't that the Soviets had tried.

- NYT - Pakistan is sponsoring the shura scheduled for 2/10. Barbara Crossette on Shevardnadze's visit:

He appeared to threaten renewed Soviet involvement in Afghanistan if the situation deteriorated.

"If new complications happen, if there are continued and rising tensions, continued interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, we will have to recall that the Soviet Union has obligations to Afghanistan," he said.

But he then ruled out the return of soldiers. "We are not thinking about any re-entry of Soviet troops," he said. He declined to answer a question about whether Soviet air power could be used to support the Najibullah regime.

2/8 - NYT - Lt. Gen Boris Gromov will be the last Soviet soldier to leave Afghanistan. He will cross the Soviet border at 10 a.m on 2/15, according to a So-viet newspaper.

(See 2/16 & p. 27)

- LAT - The Afghan Army warned residents along the Salang highway to flee their homes because of expected fighting. The ROA claimed to have given guns to 30,000 party members. A Soviet official said about 15,000 Soviet soldiers had been killed during the 9-year war.

- PT - A number of ROA Interior Ministry officials have obtained visas from the Indian Embassy in Kabul.

2/9 - HK Standard - Mojaddidi, back from Iran, said the Iranian groups had agreed to accept 80 seats on the 519-member shura.

2/9 - PT - France will delay supplying emergency aid to Afghanistan until it becomes clear whether the aid will promote peace or simply help the Najibullah regime stay in power.

- The US said relief shipments to Afghans could not get through unless all parties agreed to cooperate.

- NYT - Egyptair pilots refused to fly UN relief supplies to Kabul. UN officials are looking for another airline.

- Pres. Bush ordered a high-level review of American policy toward Afghanistan. Richard Haass, senior Director for Near East & South Asian Affairs at the Nat'l Security Council, will be in charge.

- The Afghan News Agency reported that, as a 1st step in forcing the surrender of the ROA Gov't, the guerrillas plan to close airports in Afghan cities.

- Donatella Lorch reported that guerrillas in Nangarhar feel that the greatest threats to stability in that area are Gulbuddin's party & the Saudi-backed Wahabi groups.

The buildings and trees on the farm here are covered with portraits of Mr. Hekmatyar. Wali Akbarzai, head of logistics for the mainstream National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, however, dismissed this as a public relations effort. One of his commanders said, "Hekmatyar is very good at publicity, but he leaves the fighting to the others and then his men come out of their warm quilts to take the credit."

Many guerrilla commanders have refused to attack Jalalabad or Kabul but worry that certain factions, in particular Mr. Hekmatyar's, may act independently of the other parties and attack the cities and that the others' would then feel compelled to follow suit.

"They have told us we must attack now," a commander from one of the more fundamentalist parties said of the Pakistanis. "That way they hope they can coordinate our fighting and push the mujahedeen they want to the front."

The commanders inside Afghanistan are increasingly outspoken in their criticism of the role played by the Inter-Services Intelligence, the branch of the Pakistani military that has controlled the arms distribution to the guerrillas, or mujahedeen. "We have many problems: The C.I.A., the I.S.I., the Wahabists," Mr. Akbarzai said. "Just let the Afghans do it by themselves. Like many of his commanders, he is critical of outside interference at this stage of the war."

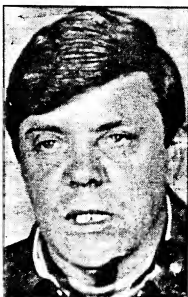
Many commanders also oppose the shura, or consultative council, that is to convene in Islamabad, the Pakistani capital, on Friday to select an interim administration in Afghanistan. The most frequently expressed criticism is that it is only representative of the political leaders, not of the whole Afghan nation.

"The shura is more of a Pakistani Government than an Afghan one," Mr. Akbarzai said. "The Pakistanis have more of a say in it than we do. If things don't go to our liking, we will move our operations inside" Afghanistan. Many commanders have similar plans, independent of the Afghan rebel leadership in Peshawar. Abdul Haq, one of the leading commanders around Kabul, has recently established a base camp to the west of the capital that can accommodate 5,000 guerrillas.

"The shura should not be for the benefit of Islamabad but for the benefit of our region," Afghanistan said Mr. Nader, the fundamentalist commander.

"The fight is here. Why do they have a shura in Pakistan?"

The commanders in Nangarhar are putting together a regional shura for the province that they say is aimed at providing security and administration for Jalalabad. There is no consensus on when the planning will be completed, but Mr. Akbarzai is adamant that only a regional shura will be able to protect the city.



Boris Gromov

"He will cross without looking back," it said. "Then he will stop and make a speech, but only to himself. It will last one minute and seven seconds. It will not be written down or listened to."

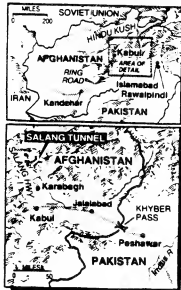
OH YES ONE LAST THING BEFORE WE BID A FOND FAREWELL TO THE GALLANT AFGHAN PEOPLE.



2-1-87 THE PASSENGER NUMBER. UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE.

2/10 - HK Standard - Najibullah told the army & militia to be ready for more war after the Soviet withdrawal. - France said it was sending a team of doctors to treat Afghan civilians in Kabul.

- NYT - The ROA ordered the evacuation of the villages of Shakar Darra, Karabagh, Kalakan, Bagran & Mirbacakot in preparation for an expected offensive against the guerrillas. The villages are about 45 miles north of Kabul along the Salang highway.



2/11 - LAT - Yesterday's shura ended shortly after the opening prayers. Many Afghans view the shura as being forced on them by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia & the US:

"America again is taking the wrong policy in this," declared Ghulam Khan Waziri, a senior Council of the moderate Afghan National Liberation Front party headed by Sibghatullah Mojaddidi.

"We are struggling not only with the Soviet Union. We are struggling with our other neighbors and any other power that tries to impose on us. We want our freedom. We don't want to be a puppet to this regime or that regime."

The moderates view the fundamentalist parties that hold the majority in the alliance as political thugs who already have lost the support of the local guerrilla commanders they armed during the war, Waziri and others said.

- LAT - The US will supply military aid to the mujahideen as long as the Soviets continue to support the Najibullah gov't - "positive symmetry."

- HK Standard - ROA Army High Command Chief Moh'd Asef Delawar threatened to meet a rebel attack on Kabul with harsher counterattacks than have taken place in other cities.



■ General Delawar ...

The NYT said the Supreme Council of the Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen, chaired by Mohammedi, will meet to try to resolve the shura problems.

He said that rebel commanders inside Afghanistan have a plan to secure all government buildings, embassies, international agencies and private property in the Afghan capital of Kabul and other major cities.

But if they [the rebel political par-

2/12 - Washington Post - Najibullah, in a televised speech, accused Pakistan of planning to invade Afghanistan with the intention of annexing it "under the pretext of confederation."

- LAT - The Bush Administration will press for the replacement of the Najibullah regime as quickly as possible & will supply the resistance as long as it's necessary to accomplish this.

- NYT - American humanitarian aid for Afghanistan is set at \$150m this year, an increase of \$23m over 1988. However, US officials think US interest in Afghanistan will slide after the Soviets withdraw.

In the long run, though, if the United States looks at Afghanistan through the optic of Realpolitik, it can probably live with any government but a Communist one, even one tinged with Islamic fundamentalism.

"The bottom line is that Afghanistan is not Iran," said an Administration official. "It has no oil reserves and isn't located on the Persian Gulf. It's not a particular strategic prize that has to be guarded at all costs. We have to be realistic about that."

2/13 - HK Standard - Gulbuddin ruled out massive onslaughts against Afghan cities, saying the plan is to lay siege to the cities. He predicted that the ROA Gov't would collapse in a few weeks & said there was no possibility of civil war breaking out because everyone was tired of fighting.

- LAT - Benazir Bhutto denied Najibullah's charge that her gov't plans to invade Afghanistan (see 2/12). "We've got enough problems of nat'l integration."

- Abdul Haq said rebel commanders inside Afghanistan have a "security plan."

He said that rebel commanders inside Afghanistan cannot come together for whatever reasons. We cannot just let the country finish and burn and be destroyed just because of this problem," said Haq, who is regarded as one of the most powerful rebel commanders in the Kabul region.

"The best way is to have an interim government to install. But in case there is disagreement, we have to be prepared. If the [Najibullah] regime collapses... there should be at least some security..."



Abdul Haq

At one point during the interview, Haq—who describes himself as neither a fundamentalist nor a moderate but as a fervent nationalist—was asked if he could live in an Afghanistan dominated by fundamentalist leaders such as Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, who called a press conference Saturday to spend an hour reprimanding the foreign press for allegedly misreporting Friday's shura and demanding, "You must correct your mistakes."

"We're really tired of being told how to live, what to wear, where to go, what to eat," he said. "I don't think this will last."

2/13 - NYT - The UN suspended airlifts to Kabul because airlines refused to make the trip.

2/15 - NYT - "Our jihad is not over," said Moh'd Eshaq, a Jamiat official. "Tomorrow the Soviet occupation ends. It is a very, very big victory, but it doesn't coincide with the liberation of Afghanistan."

- A Soviet newspaper said some Afghan Army units had begun looting strongholds left in their control & then abandoning them to the guerrillas. The Soviets say that 30,000 guerrillas are massed around Kabul & 15,000 around Jalalabad. The last Soviet troops in Kabul flew home last night. - "Night letters" are appearing in Kabul advising residents to stay indoors & avoid the airport area.

2/16 - NYT - Lt. Gen. Boris Gromov walked across the Friendship Bridge to Tirmez yesterday at 11:55 a.m. local time.

"There is not a single Soviet soldier or officer left behind me," General Gromov told a Soviet television reporter waiting on the bridge. "Our nine-year stay ends with this." (See p. 27)

- An estimated 250 Soviet civilians may still be at the Soviet Embassy in Kabul. Diego Cordovez said that fewer than 10 Soviet military advisers

"Will the last Soviet soldier leaving Afghanistan please turn on the lights?"
LAT
- Guerrilla leaders chose Moh'd Mohammedi to be the president of an interim gov't. Ahmad Shah was chosen acting prime min. If the interim gov't is approved, elections will be held in Afghanistan within 6 months for a council to appoint a permanent head of state. The Supreme Council, rather than the interim gov't will remain the ultimate authority for the Alliance. Mr. Mohammedi will head the Council for 8 months. Moja- (See 2/24!)

would remain in Afghanistan, principally as Embassy guards. - Afghan News Agency Director Q.R. Saeed said the Soviet withdrawal was more important to the West than to the Afghans. "We were fighting before the Russians came," Mr. Saeed said. "We will still be fighting after they leave. We will fight until the puppets fall. Then you will see the celebration."

- Sec'y of State Baker said he thought it "would be appropriate now for us to call on the Soviets to assist in the reconstruction of Afghanistan." The US has pledged \$18.7m to the UN Emergency Trust Fund. The Bush Adm. is exploring the feasibility of channeling more than \$100m in military aid for the mujahideen for peaceful purposes in Afghanistan:

"Because of budget constraints, reprogramming some of this money would let us rob Peter to pay Paul," an Administration official said. But Administration officials and Congressional staff members acknowledge that legal and bureaucratic obstacles might preclude such a reprogramming of aid, which would basically take

money from a military aid program run by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon and channel it into "humanitarian" aid.

"It would be extraordinarily difficult to reprogram funds already obligated to a covert program," said a Congressional staff member familiar with intelligence matters. "Just because the Administration wants to do this doesn't mean it can be done."

2/16 - LAT - A UN report on the devastation in Afghanistan:

- Herat province—600 of 1,300 villages "seriously damaged or totally destroyed." 60% of all trees "cut down for security reasons." 1,123 human limbs amputated in the past five years—"the great majority of the victims children below 15 years"—because of anti-personnel mines. 400 primary schoolteachers killed, "the majority of schools destroyed." agricultural production "down more than 50% from prewar levels."

Kunar province—"Major war damage." majority of population has fled. roads in "appalling condition, many of them mined." pine forests "stripped bare." education and health facilities "non-existent." "physical infrastructure badly run down or destroyed."

Paktia province—"Health situation critical, not a single doctor is present." "all schools are closed. the teachers gone." "mines scattered on roads and in fields." agricultural output "less than one-fourth prewar levels."

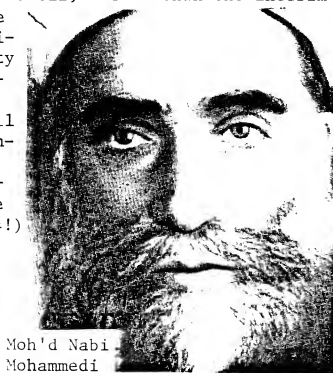
2/17 - LAT - Recent fighting near Jalalabad has forced over 30,000 new refugees to flee into Pakistan during the past 3 months (see p.26).

- NYT - The Afghan Nat'l Liberation Front (Mojaddedi) returned to the shura after a 2-day boycott over Iranian-based Afghans' participation in the new gov't.

- 2/18 - NYT - Gorbachev has sent Bush a letter urging that they work together to arrange a ceasefire in Afghanistan & foster conditions for a broad-based coalition gov't. The Soviets have also called for a joint cutoff in arms supplies. Bush said a cutoff now "would not be fair." The Kremlin has also approached other countries & int'l organizations including the OIC.

2/19 - NYT - The Kabul Gov't declared a nation-wide state of emergency (see 2/21).

Moh'd Nabi Mohammedi



dedi stepped down as Alliance head.

2/20 - NYT - The US said it would probably recognize the interim gov't if it established firm control of substantial territory in Afghanistan (not necessarily Kabul), demonstrated a capacity for civil administration & showed an ability to fulfill its int'l obligations. The US will not sever diplomatic relations with the present Afghan Gov't until the US is ready to recognize a new gov't in Afghanistan.

2/21 - NYT - ROA Prime Min. Sharq resigned for "medical reasons." Najibullah took control of a 20-member military council which will rule during the state of emergency. Over the weekend, Najibullah replaced 7 non-party-member ministers with PDPA CC members.

A State Department official said that with the resignation of Mr. Sharq, the Afghan Government seemed to be "ending the charade of trying to convince everybody that it has friendly intentions toward the resistance."

2/22 - NYT - PDPA member Sultan Ali

Kishtmand was appointed

Chairman of the Executive Committee of

the ROA Council of

Ministers, in effect

the prime min.,

a job he held for 9

years until last May.

Najibullah will be

Chairman of the Council

of Ministers.

- In Islamabad, the

mujahideen set up

a committee,

composed of 2 mem-

bers from each faction, to draw up a

list of ministers

for the provisional

gov't. Some think

this means that the

nomination of Ahmad

Shah as prime mi-

nister may no

longer be assured.

Mr. Shah is considered a representative of the rebels' fundamentalist wing. Two moderate parties refused to nominate Cabinet candidates to protest what was called an attempt by fundamentalists to force through a cabinet in their own image.

(See 2/24)



Sultan Ali Keshtmand



Ahmad Shah

2/23 - NYT - The slate of ministers proposed by the committee (see 2/22) ranges from 7 to 35. They have talked of rotating the prime min.'s job. "Everything is changeable," said a spokesman.

2/24 - NYT - Mojadedi chosen chief:

The more than 400 delegates to a special consultative council chose Sibga-tullah Mojadedi as acting president and chief of state and Abdul Rasul Sayaf as acting president of an interim government. Five other rebel leaders were assigned ministerial portfolios...

The path for the election of an interim government was paved when the delegates this morning agreed to a voting procedure. Each of the more than 400 delegates was given a sheet of paper bearing the names and photographs of the seven Pakistan-based rebel groups and told to circle their favored two.

The leader with the most votes was made the president and head of state, the runner-up was named prime minister, and the other five, based on their vote totals, were assigned prearranged groups of ministries.

Despite the apparent even-handedness of the selection process, there may be protests at the election result from various Afghan constituencies over the next few days.

In today's vote, Mr. Mojadedi becomes president, and his moderate party will also take the Ministry of Health. Mr. Sayaf is prime minister and his fundamentalist group will handle the Ministry of Communication. A moderate, Mohammed Nabi Mohammed, placed third, making him head of the Supreme Court and his group in charge of the Ministries of Finance and Education.

The fundamentalist Gulbuddin Hekmatyar placed fourth, allowing him to divy up the three Ministries of Defense, Science and Agriculture. Another fundamentalist, Yunis Khalis, came in fifth and gained responsibility for the Interior and Security Ministries, as well as the Ministry for the hajj, the annual migration by Muslims to Mecca.

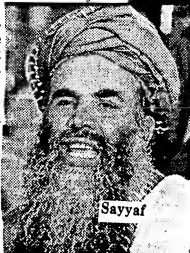
The fundamentalist, Burhanuddin Rabbani, came in sixth, giving his party responsibility for the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Border. And a moderate, Ahmed Gailani, ranked seven in the voting, giving his group the three Ministries of Reconstruction, Religious Guidance and Natural Resources.

2/25 - NYT - Mojadedi announced the start of "the free Muslim state of Afghanistan" & called on "our brothers still working with the puppet regime to join our ranks." He offered a general amnesty to "those whose hands are not stained with the blood of our brothers. He said the gov't would be operating inside Afghanistan in a month. Some ministries were rearranged: Mohammedi will have defense & 2 others; Hekmatyar will get foreign affairs, justice & border. The US is not yet prepared to recognize the new gov't (see 2/20).

Still uncertain, however, is how widespread will be the backing among various Afghan constituencies for the government-in-exile. Several key groups, including rebels based in Iran, five million refugees and some key military commanders, had little or no representation at the special council here.



Prof. Mojadedi



Sayaf

The imminent collapse of a demoralised Kabul

RICHARD EVANS

WESTERN medical workers who have returned from a 700-mile trek across Afghanistan tell a bleak story of disease, malnutrition, wrecked agriculture and in-fighting among Mujahideen groups. They say few refugees have returned, and that until living conditions improve dramatically few more are likely to.

"The country's economic infrastructure has been wrecked," said Jeff Paulsen, a medical monitor for the Swedish Committee on Afghanistan, who led the fact-finding mission across six provinces. "Ninety per cent of agriculture have been destroyed, canals have been bombed, animals shot. The roads are in ruin and clean water just about nonexistent."

Mr. Paulsen was accompanied by Rudy Seynaeve, a Belgian medical worker, and Afghan guides on a 78-day trek which visited 85 foreign-supported clinics and hospitals, conducting the most extensive survey of medical and health conditions in wartime Afghanistan. "Conditions in much of Afghanistan are so terrible it is unrealistic to expect the refugees to return," Mr. Seynaeve said.

One threat is mines. The hills and valleys are littered with them. Many of the 5 million refugees who fled from the country fell foul of them, especially the small butterfly-shaped plastic mines dropped from the air which killed and maimed many women and children. The Mujahideen

estimate 10 to 30 million mines have been scattered over Afghanistan, making every field, pathway and road a potential hazard. Even if the war miraculously ended with the Russian withdrawal, many more Afghans would die or be maimed for a long time to come.

The Russians have failed to produce maps and documents of

has made moves to tackle the problem, and Mujahideen commanders are keen that their guerrillas are given expert advice on mine-clearing techniques.

Around Kabul fighting continues day and night — the Mujahideen firing into the city from the mountains and the Soviet and government forces returning fire

withdrawal" by the Russians after many Afghan soldiers switched sides. Although considered a great triumph, the victory was hollow. Most mornings Soviet MIG-25s bomb the town mercilessly. Heavy artillery from government posts round Kabul sends shells whistling over the valley, pounding what is left of Paghman's buildings and hosteldates. Paghman has been reduced to rubble. The irony of the Mujahideen victory is that the Afghan civilians for whom they fought have fled to the surrounding villages. Twenty miles south-west of Kabul, over two mountain ranges, lies Maidanshahr where the Mujahideen are besieging the town and surrounding government posts. Casualties are heavy.

In nearby Abrahamkeel chaos rules. Stretcher-bearers and ambulances riddled with bullet holes light their way through alleys crowded with vehicles, animals and Mujahideen. Men yearn to return to the action and the few remaining civilians are hurriedly leaving, carrying what possessions they can.

Mujahideen operations round Maidanshahr are controlled by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar from his post two hours' walk into the hills from Maidanshahr. A doctor before the war, he looks tired, with deep lines across his eyes.

A visit to the northern Panjshir Valley, before the war a Shangri-La of dense forests and traced fields, reveals desolation and the destruction of millions of trees. A

trip from Kabul and the southern city of Kandahar was like "travelling on the moon, with crater after crater as far as you can see," Mr. Paulsen said.

Armed tribal chieftains commonly demand money or weapons when units of rival parties travel through their territory. Poor Shia tribes living in central Afghanistan resent their relatively prosperous Sunni neighbours to the east, and clashes are common. Stories of kidnapping and murder abound. "All you hear from party leaders in Peshawar is about harmony and brotherhood, but inside Afghanistan the story is very different," Mr. Paulsen said. "Local commanders and amirs are fighting for power and it is not about end just because the Russians are leaving."

Such conflicts have become common as Mujahideen commanders and political leaders sense the imminent collapse of a demoralised Kabul regime. Increased in-fighting would make the task of rebuilding post-war Afghanistan even more difficult. Aid workers estimate it will take 5 to 10 years before the country can be returned to the state it was in a decade ago. "Until there is a consensus among the powers (in Afghanistan), centralisation and co-ordination of services including health care will be futile," Mr. Paulsen said in a report to be submitted to thirteen aid agencies working in Afghanistan. Today that consensus appears as far away as ever — The Independent.



the minefields, which they were required to do under the Geneva accords. They probably have no idea where most of the mines are, having lobbed them at random from aircraft. The United Nations

with artillery and mortar shells. Less than 10 miles west of the capital is the small town of Paghman which the Mujahideen say they "liberated" in October. It was as much a "strategic

Khamenei urges Afghans to be vigilant of U.S. 'plots'

NICOSIA, Jan. 15: The Afghan people should remain vigilant and be wary of U.S. "plots" following a planned Soviet withdrawal from their country, Iranian President Ali Khamenei said in Tehran on Sunday to Pakistan and Iranian-based Afghan factions meeting there.

Mr. Khamenei also urged Mujahideen to close ranks and resume what he described as "useful" dialogue with the Soviet Union, the Iranian news agency IRNA reported.

The Afghan conference was being attended by the influential seven-party resistance alliance based in Peshawar, heads of the eight-group coalition of Afghan Mujahideen based in Iran, as well as experts from France, Britain, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Pakistan and Afghanistan, said IRNA.

The conferees were expected to discuss a statement in talks with the Soviet Union, which is due to withdraw all its remaining troops from Afghanistan in February. Mr. Khamenei charged that the United States was planning to take

advantage of the bloodshed in Afghanistan "to secure a foothold in the country's future." The Afghan Mujahideen, through their heroic resistance and struggle, have reduced the occupying forces to inaction yet they should be wary of U.S. "plots," IRNA quoted Mr. Khamenei as saying in a message addressed to Sunday's meeting.

Therefore the Mujahideen must remain as vigilant as before... and not allow any foreign power to penetrate the country so that Afghanistan will start the new era with its Islamic identity and non-aligned character" the presidential message added. — AFP

Mujahid commander freed in exchange of Afghan major

From Our Peshawar Bureau
FEB. 7: Mujahid commander of Hizb-i-Islami (Hikmatyar) was freed by Kabul regime in exchange for an Afghan army major about two months back. Commander Rehmatullah who

said at a Press conference in Peshawar this afternoon he was in jail for eight years and was released in December last in exchange for an Afghan army major, Mohammad Ibrahim.

Commander Rehmatullah, who belongs to Parwan Province, said he was arrested on Aug. 1 in 1980 along with others and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment on charge of spying, explosions and guerrilla activities in Afghanistan.

Soviet-Kabul forces use Napalm against Mujahideen

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8: The United States charged on Tuesday that Afghan and Soviet forces had used a Napalm-like substance against U.S.-backed Mujahideen in 1988 and said new landmines may have been laid in Afghanistan, threatening civilians.

In its annual report on human rights worldwide, the State Department said basic human rights in war-torn Afghanistan would not improve until the withdrawal of Soviet troops, now under way, was completed.

The report said Soviet forces and their allies in the Afghan Government had launched numerous attacks against civilian targets, resulting in massive destruction of homes, entire villages, cropland and infrastructure, and injuries to uncounted civilians.

Some were reprisals against Mujahideen sympathisers and "there were also civilians casualties resulting from the deployment of a Napalm-like substance against the resistance," the report said. It gave no other details.

His three associates Haji Mohammad Nawab, Syed Ibrahim and Dr. Ayub were hanged to death.

He said the strength of prisoners in Pule Charkhi Jail was about 4,000 and most of them were associated with the Hizb-i-Islami.

January 1, 1989.

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Afghan relief programme

An apparently generous Soviet offer to give major support to the billion-dollar United Nations relief and rehabilitation programme for Afghanistan has created some suspicion that the Soviet plan to control the programme.

But Soviet officials have quashed such doubts. In an interview with Panos they re-affirmed that the aid is for 'humanitarian purposes and will be led under the U.N.'s 'overwhelming control'.

The U.N. programme is to assist repatriation and resettlement of the 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, 2.4 million in Iran, and 1 million displaced persons in Afghanistan itself.

More than one in three of Afghanistan's 20 million people have been displaced since the Soviet entry into the country in December 1979. Since then there has been little international development aid, 40% of the essential, ancient irrigation system has been destroyed, and the country is littered with 45 million hidden mines and other anti-personnel weapons.

The work to be done in minesweeping, repair, the re-establishment of farming, health systems, education and self-confidence 'is awesome, so the Soviet Union's offer of 400 million-Ruble (US\$600 million) aid in kind was widely welcomed.

Aleksandr Bel'gov, Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations, said in the 12 October 'pledging conference' of the U.N. Co-ordinator for relief to Afghanistan, offered a package of consumer goods and other aid. This makes up two-thirds of the nearly US\$900 million aid pledged to the planned US\$2-billion, 18 month U.N. programme.

The next highest offer from another country is from Japan for US\$80 million, one-tenth the Soviet pledge. The United States has pledged US\$17 million.

The Soviets have offered:

- Consumer goods, including clothing, fabrics, clothes, footwear, medical supplies, and school appliances.

- Equipment and materials for construction projects under the U.N. sponsored programmes.

- Aid in delivering consumer goods from republics, regions and cities in the USSR to provinces and cities in Afghanistan.

- 30 million routes to cover transport costs of international aid across Soviet territory.

But questions were soon raised about the intentions and exact wording of the Soviet offer - worded as it was in one being clarified in a series of detailed meetings between U.N. officials and Soviet delegates.

The U.N. co-ordinator - Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan - is very aware that 80% of the aid pledged by countries other than the USSR is ' earmarked ' for specific projects, leaving him with relatively little room to develop his aid policies to the maximum effect. If two-thirds of his budget were under strong Soviet in-

fluence, his room for manoeuvre would be further reduced.

Belonogov said clearly in his announcement that the aid is to 'contribute to the U.N. humanitarian economic assistance programmes... through the U.N. co-ordinator', and is 'intended for all provinces'.

But sceptics - senior aid officials speaking privately - still fear that in practice, much of this support will be under direct Soviet control.

And that the Soviets plan to use aid as a means of continuing influence over Afghanistan.

However, a spokesman for the Soviet delegation to the U.N. this week in Paris said that the offer 'is made on purely humanitarian grounds, not to support one side or the other'.

According to the Soviet spokesman, the U.N. co-ordinator 'would have overwhelming control' of the programme.

He said he decided to the co-ordinator to be up to the co-ordinator to decide where to build or develop a programme, 'he said, adding nevertheless that there would have to be 'co-operation' with the Kabul government. Soviet advisers, Afghanistan, could offer much assistance, he said, having had experience in development projects in the country since 1921.

Soviet bilateral aid to Afghanistan - it was some US\$720 million in 1988 - would continue, the spokesman said. The future of the billion-dollar U.N. relief and rehabilitation programme for the seven million Afghan refugees depends heavily on the refugees themselves, a spokesman for the programme's co-ordinator, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, said in Geneva.

Its application will, in the main, have to wait for the refugees to decide to return home - because under the programme it is they who will be doing the work: rebuilding their homes, roads, irrigation channels and agriculture, and helping to clear up to five million mines.

But for the moment with the hard Afghan winter approaching, the refugees are opting to stay out.

Some of the one million 'internally displaced' camped around Kabul, are said to be returning to their lands - partly because of continuing rocket attacks on the city. But the U.N. co-ordinator so far has no office or officials in Kabul and has been unable to give aid or advice - or even count - the returnees. Moreover U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar is currently pulling U.N. staff out of Kabul because of the fighting.

Where the U.N. co-ordinator does have help, in the refugee centres outside Kabul, his work is beginning on training those going home so that they can contribute to the rebuilding effort.

Meanwhile, the United Nations 'development' Programme (UNDP), which is to manage the reconstruction with the U.N. co-ordinator, has begun a package of priority programmes for the eastern provinces of Afghanistan. It has started work in crossborder

er areas and is using non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to improve crop production, veterinary services, rural public works, the provision of tractors and their maintenance, and training.

One U.N.-supported NGO project covers the production of artificial limbs and braces for the 50,000 people classed as 'severely affected'. According to the co-ordinator, ten times more people could be classified as disabled and in need of health services and rehabilitation.

It may not be before the Spring of 1989, in six months time, when the refugees are expected to begin returning en masse, that the complete reconstruction plan will get into top gear.

The baseline from which it will work is low. Only one in seven Afghans can read, one of the lowest literacy levels in the world. Before 1973, when the monarchy was abolished, 85% of the population was rural and mainly engaged in agriculture.

With the social changes of the last decade, there is no guarantee that, even if sufficient smallholdings are created under an equitable reform, peasants will opt to return to their old agricultural occupations.

However, agriculture remains the backbone of the country, with its mainstay crops of wheat, maize, rice, barley, seed cotton, sugarcane, sugar beets, sesame seeds, melons and raisins. Together with sheep, goats, cattle, butaloes and camels agriculture made up more than 60% of the gross national product.

This is no longer the case and the U.N. programme envisages spending US\$226 million in the first 18 months for agriculture alone. Three-quarters of this would go towards supplying seeds, fertiliser, farm tools and draught animals. The remainder is intended for the agricultural infrastructure, with emphasis on providing credit, veterinary and crop extension services, and the establishment of tree nurseries, both for fruit and fuelwood.

Much of the traditional irrigation system, which fed 70% of Afghan farms, no longer functions. Some 40% of the underground water channels - a technology of long, shallow tunnels carrying water from the rain-fed mountains to the arid plains - known as 'karez' in Afghanistan and 'qanat' throughout the Islamic world - have failed through neglect and military destruction, resulting in marked reduction in yields and even the abandonment of land on which irrigation is no longer possible.

Nearly US\$160 million will be needed over five years to re-establish this vital resource.

Another priority is to cope with the four to five million mines which have been planted and distributed throughout Afghanistan, said to be of approximately 28 different types and manufactured in countries which include the Soviet Union, USA, U.K., China and Italy. Not all are massive heavy-duty mines and thousands

of children have been mutilated by anti-personnel mines which have been manufactured in the shape of toys, radios, butterflies and tablets of chocolate.

The U.N. co-ordinator plans to convene a team of multi-national specialists to advise on the removal of the mines and to train teams of Afghans in the use of the specialised equipment needed for the work. Side by side, an education campaign would be undertaken, and probably aided by radio, to warn people particularly children - of the dangers.

The success of these programmes depends on peace. As Prince Sadruddin summed up in a recent report 'This is primarily a task for the Afghan people themselves but they need international support. The return of peace to Afghanistan requires the implementation of a major relief and rehabilitation projects capable of helping to revive the nation's economy and to ensure confidence in its future.'

'The Afghans are proud, hard-working and industrious people who value self-reliance and enterprise. What is needed is a grassroots, people-oriented effort. The task at hand is to help them to help themselves, and not to encourage a new dependency on international aid.' - Panos.

Plan for Afghan repatriation

PESHAWAR, Feb. 7: Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, U.N. Co-ordinator for U.N. Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programme, has said that a comprehensive plan was under way for providing assistance to the Afghans in a phased way which would include programmes of emergency relief for returning Afghan refugees, repatriation, rehabilitation and the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Addressing representatives of a foreign voluntary organisation ACBAR in Peshawar this morning, he said that under the first phase a programme relating to the provision of food stuff and essential commodities would be started. In this respect he said that the matter relating to the procurement, logistic and delivery of relief items had been discussed at different levels. He said that the second phase convoys of Afghan refugees would be organised and storage and distribution of relief goods would be ensured in Afghanistan for repatriated and rehabilitated Afghans.

He said that the reconstruction programme would be carried out in collaboration with Afghan authorities and the world community would fix priorities for the construction of roads and bridges. Mr. Aga Khan expressed the hope that the U.N. agency would be able to evolve an appropriate programme ensuring provision of humanitarian assistance to the people of Afghanistan. He spoke from the corner of the country with a view to mitigating their sufferings.

Earlier, Prince Aga Khan visited ICRC hospital and Afghan Media Resource Centre talking to the representative of Afghan Media Resource Centre, he said that the

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centre would give an excellent coverage to the activities of the U.N. agencies aimed at providing assistance to Afghan people and of Afghans - APP

Pakistan holding talks with Mujahideen

By Ghani Jafar

Our Diplomatic Correspondent

In reply to a question about the veracity of recent reports in the Western media to the effect that Pakistan authorities were exercising pressure on the Afghan Mujahideen to accommodate a number of persons associated with the current Kabul regime in the future set-up in Afghanistan, a spokesman of the Foreign Office stated in Islamabad on Monday that the Government of Pakistan had been holding "discussions" with the Mujahideen.

The spokesman maintained this position in his response to a number of related questions asked at the Press briefing. His reaction did not amount to an outright denial of the news stories and can, in fact, be seen as an implicit acknowledgment of the substance of the reports.

His attention was drawn to a report in the "Time" magazine which stated that Pakistan was applying intense pressure on the Peshawar-based alliance of the Afghan Mujahideen for it to include persons acceptable to the Soviet Union in the proposed government structure in Afghanistan. The spokesman was also asked to comment on a series of articles published earlier in the month in a Western newspaper highlighting the same aspect.

He said that Pakistan had never denied the fact that it had remained "in touch" with the Afghan Mujahideen. He asked the newsmen to be patient, and hoped for a positive outcome of the current efforts at evolving a political settlement.

When asked if the Government of Pakistan would be prepared to bring to public knowledge the approach to be followed in discussions on Afghanistan with the Iranian and Soviet Foreign Ministers when they come to Islamabad in the current week, the spokesman repeated the well-known position of the Government of Pakistan on the future structure in Afghanistan.

He said that Islamabad had contemplated consultative groups to be set up as broad-based as possible. The Afghan Mujahideen, he said, were holding consultations on the composition of the group.

The spokesman said that the Soviet Union was on record as having stated that representatives of the PDPA should be included in the group, whereas this was not acceptable to the Mujahideen.

He pointed out that the Mujahideen had, at the same time, agreed to the inclusion of certain individuals in "good Muslims" in a consultative group.

When asked about the Govern-

ment of Pakistan's response to this impasse which could have an adverse impact on Pakistan's security, the spokesman reiterated the "broad principles" on which Islamabad continued to base its Afghan policy.

He said that Pakistan believed in non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and wanted the Afghan people to settle the future arrangement for themselves.

Pakistan, he said, had continued to provide humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees, and hoped that conditions would soon be created to enable them to return to their homeland in safety and honour.

The spokesman was asked as to how Pakistan was helping in the creation of those conditions. He said that the initial settlement on Afghanistan had been arrived at as a result of discussions which still continued and, hopefully, would help overcome the difficulties being faced currently.

He said that Islamabad had not been informed about the precise subjects which the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, would like to discuss with the Government of Pakistan during his forthcoming visit. But, he said, bilateral relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union, and the Afghanistan situation were likely to come up for discussion.

The spokesman said that neither the Soviet Union nor the Afghan Mujahideen had expressed any desire for Pakistan to arrange a meeting between the two sides during Mr. Shevardnadze's stay in Islamabad. He said that the Soviet Foreign Minister had been seen in the evening of Feb. 4, and would leave here the following day.

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"He was travelling with his family to Kabul from the provinces

46 Afghan children arrive in W. Germany for treatment

FRANKFURT, Feb. 7: As Soviet troops hurry to complete their withdrawal from Afghanistan, a humanitarian group is bringing dozens of Afghan children, many of them maimed by the war to West Germany for medical treatment.

"Friedens Orf Oberhausen" (peace village Oberhausen), an independent welfare group, has flown 46 Afghan children to West German hospitals since shortly before Christmas.

"Each of these children has a touching story to tell. They are very sad, fearful stories, each one a different description of their sad fate", Friedens Orf Oberhausen chief Roland Gegenfurter told the Associated Press on Monday.

"Some lost an arm or a leg in the war, some lost both legs in explosions", Gegenfurter said in a telephone interview from his office in Oberhausen, near Dusseldorf.

Gegenfurter and his aides brought 15 maimed children from Afghanistan to West Germany just before Christmas. Another group of 31 children was flown to Frankfurt from Kabul last Thursday.

"They were then taken to different hospitals outside Frankfurt by two West German army helicopters", he said.

Gegenfurter said his organisation, funded by private donations, is bringing the children to West Germany for medical treatment of their injuries. The children will also receive artificial limbs during their stay.

Gegenfurter, 37, described the terrifying war experience of 12-year-old Abdul Mohin, one of the 31 children flown to Frankfurt on Thursday.

"He was travelling with his family to Kabul from the provinces

by bus. The bus ran over a mine. When Abdul woke up, he started crying. He could not see his legs."

Kuchi, a three-year-old girl, lost both her legs in rocket explosion two years ago, Gegenfurter said.

"Both legs had to be amputated. Her father brought her to a camp at the Afghan-Pakistan border to Peshawar."

"They returned to their village but it came under bombardment. The family fled to Kabul, but could not find medical treatment for Kuchi. She is now in West Germany and will receive prostheses", Gegenfurter said.

Friedens Orf Oberhausen has been helping children from war-

ravaged areas around the world for 22 years. Gegenfurter said the 46 children brought from Afghanistan range in age from three to 14.

"In Kabul, I saw more than 500 children maimed by the war in Afghanistan", he said. "I saw their medical records and more than 50 per cent of the cases could be treated in Afghanistan."

"But they need an orthopaedic facility urgently. If we could set up such a facility there, many of the children would not have to travel for treatment", Gegenfurter told the AP.

"We have started a collection campaign here for such a facility. If we can get enough money, we can set up an orthopaedic facility in Kabul regardless of the political situation there", Gegenfurter said.—APA

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Anti-Shura meeting in Peshawar flops

From Our Peshawar Bureau

FEBRUARY 8: Pandemonium today prevailed in the public meeting when slogan-chanting Afghan refugees clashed near Nishat Mills premises in the outskirts of Peshawar.

More than two dozen people in the audiences are reported to have received cuts, bruises and injuries.

Afghan Media Resource Centre said that a clash injured 25 people and erupted today at Nishat Mills in Peshawar between supporters and opponents of Friday's Afghanistan Mujahideen Shura.

Brandishing sticks larger than cricket bats, the crowds battered each other after being provoked by speakers at a rally organised by anti-Shura elements.

The consultative Shura, sponsored by the Seven Muslim Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen, will meet on Sunday in Rawalpindi to vote on the structure of the interim government.

Among 60 injured at the event, attended by more than 5,000 peo-

ple, were several reporters who were trapped at the front of the stage when protesters surged forward to overturn it. Three people were reportedly in critical condition, the AMRC said.

Tension first flared when the former Afghan Government administrator Mr. Azizullah Wasifi, said "now as the Soviets withdraw, whom should we fight? The crowd yelled slogans like the Khalq and the Parchamites".

Mr. Wasifi, who served the Cabinet of King Zahir Shah and President Mohammad Daoud, said "the Soviets should not start war inside the country once the Soviets complete their withdrawal."

Stirred by the comments, members of the crowd moved toward the stage and skirmishes between several parties took place.

Angry protesters overturned the stage and dismantled loud speakers.

February 9, 1989

Mujahideen set up offices at Torkham

TORKHAM (Afghanistan), Feb. 8: "Welcome to free Afghanistan" said a grinning Mujahideen commander at the border checkpoint guarded by heavily armed men in camouflage battle jackets.

Scores of Mujahideen wearing everything from tribal clothing to military uniforms captured from the Soviets, were busy around the Torkham checkpoint at the Afghan end of the famous Khyber Pass.

A Mujahideen commander, a Soviet-made Kalashnikov rifle slung across his shoulder, directed his men with an electric bullhorn.

Commanders said they were trying to set up a rudimentary administration at Torkham to carry out basic government tasks in an area they had seized from Afghanistan's beleaguered communist authorities.

The Mujahideen were busy organising shelters and offices in the government administration block, immigration building and customs, police and army posts.

"This place is now under Islamic government", said Nabih Mohammad, one of the commanders

The new administration appeared relaxed. Mujahid guards at check posts paid little attention to a steady stream of merchants, Mujahideen and local people going back and forth across the border to Pakistan.

A roadside signpost pointed the way to the Afghan capital of Kabul, 224 kilometres to the west.

Torkham changed hands several times before the Mujahideen finally seized control in January as government troops pulled out of the area.

"There was much fighting, but now this place is ours", Mohammad said.

Armoured government guns, armoured personnel carriers and trucks were parked near the administration buildings. Green Islamic flags fluttered from trucks that occasionally rumbled up the road, with bands of Mujahideen in the back.

A partly buried painting of a Soviet and an Afghan soldier clasping hands in friendship had been used to patch a hole in one of the damaged administration blocks. Soviet grain sacks were

nalled over holes in the immigration offices.

Mujahideen had scrawled their names on the captured buildings as if signing autographs of their successful fight to win control of Torkham.

The charred remains of government documents burned by the Mujahideen littered the roadside.

But, the documents and newspapers written in Russian were scattered among the members—a remnant of the Soviet troops that backed the communist government for nine years of the civil war.

The seven main Mujahideen groups held different buildings in the administration complex. The groups took turns performing border duties, commanders said.

The leaders said their men, many of them illiterate, had little idea of the routine of carrying out governing and administrative chores. But they expressed confidence the Mujahideen would learn in time. . . .

Commander Abdul Zaher said the Mujahideen had to defeat the communist government before starting to rebuild the war-shattered nation and its government administration.

"It was too early to talk about details, but I said, 'About the future, we say nothing'." —APA

February 9, 1989

Can Shura promise peace?

By AN ANALYST

The meeting of the Afghan Consultative Committee (Shura) for creating an interim government in Afghanistan, which begins in Islamabad on Friday, presents a dilemma for Pakistan, whose sole interest in the matter is the establishment of such a broad-based regime in Kabul as would guarantee peace and facilitate the refugees' return home. Islamabad hopes that the Consultative Committee will be able to resist factional and sectarian pressures and evolve a formula to avoid further bloodshed in Afghanistan. But there are doubts.

A major source of anxiety for Pakistan officials is dealing with the Afghan problem is the knowledge that despite appearances of unity, the components of the Afghan Resistance remain hostile to each other. There are differences within the 7-party Alliance between the hard-liners, led by Mr. Gulbadin Hikmatyar, and the moderates, led by Mr. Gilani. The latter has for the time being accepted Mr. Hikmatyar's commitment to organise free general election in Afghanistan as soon as circumstances permit but suspects that each side is trying to gain a dominating role in the Shura persist. These suspicions were reinforced by reports appearing in a section of the Arab Press that one of Mr. Hikmatyar's representatives had made contacts with elements outside the IUAM, including a few associated with the PDPA, on a tour of some Arab countries. Several groups of Afghan Mujahideen have also protested against their exclusion from preparations for the Consultative Committee meeting. Three such groups outside issued a statement expressing lack of confidence in the 7-party Alliance in Peshawar on Tuesday last.

Then there are moderates, mostly belonging to the European-based Afghan emigre groups, that are extremely unhappy at the way the fundamentalist faction has elbowed them out of negotiations. Some of these elements maintain that they have to assert their due, now that the process of forming an interim government has entered its penultimate stage. In case they do so, the Shura meeting may neither be brief nor free from a dangerous trial of strength. These elements are likely to press for a role for ex-king Zahir Shah and his confidants in the peace-making process.

At the same time, differences between the commanders fighting inside Afghanistan and the political leaders of Resistance based in Pakistan have not wholly been resolved. The commanders insist on getting a lion's share in the interim regime as a reward for their struggle which they rate higher than the contribution made by their

spokesmen away from the battleground. The commanders are also opposed to the IUAM leaders' plans to quickly capture Kabul and other cities in Afghanistan regardless of the casualties to the civilian population.

Besides, it is no secret that some of the leading commanders within Afghanistan do not see eye to eye with one another. For example, commander Masoud Shah, operating in the northern parts of the country, and commander Abdul Haq, moving towards Kabul from the south, are believed to be rivals for supremacy even though a temporary understanding between them may have been secured by the friends of both sides.

No keen observer of the scene can, in this situation, ignore the danger of serious strife between various Afghan factions once the Soviet troops' withdrawal is completed next week. While most observers agree that the Mujahideen may not be able to withstand the Mujahideen's pressure for any appreciable length of time, they have detected a new sign of despair in the PDPA supporters. Reports that the Najib government has distributed arms to civilians confirms the view that the PDPA's sympathisers may prefer a last-ditch fight to surrender because the Mujahideen have no spared the Afghan soldiers or their families who had agreed to surrender. The fate of the Afghan soldiers who surrendered at Torkham is cited as an instance.

Pakistan has reason to feel concern at the prospect of the civil war continuing in Afghanistan even after the Soviet withdrawal. It believes that the elements resisting the Mujahideen forces operating from Pakistan side may hold this country responsible for their loss of life and property. The goodwill that the Afghan people have had for Pakistan may be fractured.

The crux of the problem is that the fundamentalist elements in the Afghan Resistance, relying exclusively on the massive firepower at their disposal, do not seem to realise the complications they are creating for Pakistan by denying the U.N. proposal for a genuinely broad-based interim government. The installation of a narrow-based fundamentalist regime in Kabul could not only pose a threat to Pakistan's security but also affect the process of Islamabad's understanding with India and the Soviet Union. It is also known that neither the United States nor the European supporters of the Mujahideen's cause are feeling comfortable at the idea of Afghanistan being ruled by a fundamentalist coalition, which by definition could guarantee neither a stable democracy nor the much needed social change.

Finally, Pakistan faces the dilemma that while it was easy to tell Mr. Shevardnadze that it was unrealistic to press for PDPA's inclusion in a broad-based government, it is not so easy to

make the IUAM and their powerful supporters amenable to realistic suggestions. Islamabad does not even know that the refugee leaders, who should have held their consultations inside Afghanistan, will start quitting the Pakistan territory soon after February 15.

If the Afghan leaders meeting now in Islamabad have any regard for that trials Pakistan has faced

as a result of its commitment to their cause, the least they are expected to do is to abandon the factional jockeying for power and accommodate all the various interests in the proposed Shura so that peace returns to their ravaged land and the promised general election can be held under aegis that inspires confidence in its independence of foreign influence and impartiality.

2/8

Afghanistan: what next?

THE Soviet Foreign Minister's visit to Islamabad has not apparently been an unqualified success from either side's point of view over the next steps in Afghanistan. This may be a disappointment, but given the circumstances it would have been unrealistic to expect a different outcome. There is hope in the fact that apart from the details, there was common ground on the fundamentals. Both the countries were agreed on the necessity of a political settlement; both thought that the military path could only lead to a worsening of the situation; both are resolved to encourage a broad-based government in Kabul. The shared objective is therefore that the guns in Afghanistan will be silenced as soon as possible after the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier from the Afghan soil next Wednesday; and that it would be possible over this period for a government to be formed in Kabul that includes elements, or enjoys the confidence, of all the political sections of the country.

That outcome can, of course, be brought about only by the Afghans themselves. The omens of it are not wholly promising at the moment. The consultative body envisaged by the Pakistan-based seven parties in the IUAM, and which is due to meet next Friday, has engendered some controversy. The Iran-based parties are unhappy at the number of seats allotted to them. The commanders in the field in Afghanistan are also said to be not entirely satisfied with it. And there is

of course the insistence that the shura will have no part of that section of the Afghans

which it has been at war with. This would seem to strike at the very definition of a broad-based government. What will emerge will predominantly be a one-sided body — consisting only of elements of the resistance. This predicates total vanquishing of the other side. That can only augur more war. The Afghan leaders here are confident of routing the opposition quickly. Their earlier calculations of rapid collapse of the Government in Kabul did not prove altogether correct. The defeat may again not occur as painlessly as they are now forecasting. The worsening of the situation that the Pakistan-Soviet joint statement fears in that eventuality may do the Soviets and the Afghans no good. It certainly will cause problems for Pakistan and for the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland.

Mr. Shevardnadze has also hinted at his country's treaty obligations to Afghanistan. That may be construed as a threat. It may also be taken as a reminder of a fact, it certainly presages no easy end to the Afghanistan tragedy if a military rather than a political path continues to be pursued. This week's discussions in Islamabad should have enabled both Pakistan and the Soviet Union to take a good measure of each other's bottom line and to consider over the next days if a review of their respective positions is possible in the light of it and in their own and the Afghans' best interests. The ruling consideration for all concerned

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should now be that Afghanistan's agony is brought rapidly to an end.

Agony of the Afghan tragedy

THE MUSLIM Magazine

A CAPTURED and mentally-ill Afghan soldier undergoing treatment in the IGCRC Surgical Hospital in Peshawar was recently abducted and returned after several days in an unreported case which must be unique even in the context of the bloody 10-year Afghan war.

The case exemplifies the extent of the Afghan tragedy which strikes almost every family in the beautiful country which was once known for its peace and tranquility. The agony of the Afghan people reads like a chapter of sorrows and grief. Afghans on both ends of the spectrum have seen few joys in the last decade and sully enough light at the end of the long and dark tunnel is still not visible.

The soldier was taken prisoner when Afghan Mujahideen captured the important border post of Torkham on the Durand Line last November. He probably became a patient in the dedicated hospitalisation in the Surgical Hospital run by International Committee of the Red Cross in Peshawar. Unknown to anybody, he took him away one day while he was outside the Hospital in University Town. The Hospital authorities knew nothing about their patient for more than two weeks and were pleasantly surprised to see him back alive and kicking. Reports say that the insane soldier was taken either by Afghan Mujahideen or Pakistani police for interrogation could not be substantiated.

It is naive to think that only Mujahideen have committed excesses against their opponents. The PDPA regime has probably abducted more Afghans than it was able to win over since it swept into power through the armed putsch in April 1978. Its unmaginative rearmament has been a breeding nation fuelled hostilities which have brought more sufferings and few joys to the hapless farmers, women workers and students who were intended to be the beneficiaries. After all about five million people don't abandon their hearts and homes for nothing.

The joy exhibited by prisoners freed from Kabul's notorious Pul-e-Chark Prison one cold morning in December 1987 to which the correspondent was a witness explained the feelings of men held captive on account of their political beliefs. The prisoners grumbled a tough time trying to restrain the freed prisoners as they anxiously waited for the prison gates to be flung open. They literally ran to

freedom when the time came moving fast as their weary legs could not hold them.

No less poignant was the case of a government employee in

as the marooned refugees waded in the water trying to rescue their petty belongings and cursing their fate. Wailing women recalling their green villages and soulacious houses brought tears to one's eyes after seeing them living in miserable conditions far away from their homes. The slums which

By RAHIMULLAH YUSUFZAI

Kabul who he was living all alone in the Afghan capital thinking about his wife and children who had migrated to Pakistan since the beginning of the war. The shirwan tribesman from Nangrahar province, who had got used to wearing western dresses owing to his long stay in Kabul, said he could neither abandon his government service where he had put more than 20 years of his precious years nor he approved of the policies of the Afghan resistance. But his real dilemma was that he was not a citizen of Pakistan. His greying hair and weak reflexes coupled with his twin Dimeida made him look really miserable. Not the cemeteries dotted the NWFP landscape with the distinctive coloured flags fluttering about the graves remained one of the many Afghans who died either fighting in Afghanistan or succumbed to disease and sorrows. Dead bodies of Mujahideen killed in war in the border provinces were often brought to Pakistan for burial but most of the graves are of old men and women and children who died in an alien land.

Five flags on Afghan cemeteries distinguish them from grave yards meant for Pakistanis.

Comparisons are vague but the scenes at the Tappa Shahedan in Kabul, where those who died during and after the Saur Revolution are buried, must be equally more poignant. The imposing mausoleum of the late Nader Khan on one side of the hillock is a forlorn and unfrequented place while grief-stricken friends and relatives frequently visit the cemetery for commuters to lay floral wreaths and remember their near and dear ones. Prayers and soots invite one's attention all over the place amidst the strong voice of the official guides who narrate the exploits of the inmates of various graves who died fighting defending the April Revolution.

Flood water inundated the Baghcheha Chera refugee camp near Mardan sometimes back damaging the belongings of the Afghan refugees. Moving scenes were witnessed on the occasion

have mushroomed in Kabul and Jalalabad also testify to the plight of a race that was known to have lived in full and respectable life even in its poverty. It is because of this realisation that the wailing tones of Afghan female singer Gham Gulab urging her beloved to take her back to Afghanistan to escape the miseries of camp life seems so pertinent.

Glimpses from the life of the Afghans inside and outside the country are striking as well as revealing. The brisk shopping in Kabul and other cities could be misleading. It doesn't take one realisation that the country was at war. Afghan VIP's moving around in huge volages in Afghanistan's cities and those riding costly Paedros in Peshawar and Islamabad appear to belong to the same class even if they think differently. The plight of an employee of the livestock International (renamed Maima Pail) now run by the government was

usually depressing like the young bearded Afghan who scooped while carrying a heavy load of grass on his hunched back in the border province of Paktia to supply the Mujahideen in the hills. Both narrated how difficult it was to make both ends meet. One was in the service of the revolutionary PDPA regime, the other was active in the Jihad.

Refugees complaining of short supplies and difficulties in getting themselves registered is a common feature in every camp in NWFP and Baluchistan. They tell you time and again that they can't get the registration cards unless they bribe the officials. On the other hand, commoners in PDPA-controlled cities cite examples of nepotism and favouritism as to how such and such man dodged conscription or landed the choicest job because someone related to him occupied an important position in the ruling party. It is an endless saga of sorrows and grief which has afflicted the Afghans.

Perhaps it is their fate to suffer at the hands of conquerors and adventurers and favouritism as the Springboard for greater glories in Central Asia, Persia, Arab countries and in the Indian Subcontinent. Countries like Afghanistan falling on the path of invaders seldom enjoy peace and the Afghans have learnt this truth in a hard way.

January 13, 1989

Message From Kabul

Among the world leaders who sent congratulatory messages to President Bush was Najibullah, the President of Afghanistan. The Afghan Embassy was so eager to get his message that it took the unusual step of reprinting it in a four-page press release.

"Your Excellence," the message began, "I should like first of all to present my warmest felicitations on your assumption to the office of the President and express the hope that the people of the United States shall achieve higher stages of progress and prosperity under your wise leadership."

Mr. Najibullah then asked Mr. Bush for support in promoting the regime's plan for a transition to peace as the Soviet Union completes its withdrawal.

It is my earnest hope that my appeal which reflects the aspirations of the vast silent majority of our people, who are fed up with and abhor the war, can find its way to your heart and touch your humane feelings."

Mr. Najibullah wrote.

He added that he was "anxiously awaiting a confidential reference from Soviet" and wished Mr. Bush "a very good health and many more successes."

Mr. Najibullah will not get a positive response from the Bush Administration, said Mr. Bush, like President Reagan, believes the regime will fall once the Soviets are out.

American officials in Kabul and Washington would not even accept the message when it was delivered by the Afghans, who mailed it instead. "We have no reaction to it," said one State Department official. "We just ignored it."

NYT 1/27

MAKING A PATH THROUGH A MINE FIELD



THE WASHINGTON POST

New platform for Afghanistan

KABUL: Afghan authorities plan to replace the ruling Communist Party, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), with a nationalist and democratic party.

"A committee has already been set up to change the name of the party and reorganise its platform," a senior Government official said.

The plan would represent a major change in Afghan politics and an attempt to forge a rapprochement with the Mujahideen rebels who have

been fighting the Soviet-backed Kabul regime for nine years.

Afghan resistance groups were active in the dissolution of the PDPA, a condition for the formation of a broad-based coalition government in Kabul.

The Mujahideen leadership based in Pakistan, northern Pakistan, has refused to share power with the communists.

The PDPA will be transformed into a liberal, nationalist and democratic party, said the official, who is close to At-

han leader Najibullah.

"The economic policies of the PDPA will be changed. It will no longer be socialist and there will be no reference to Leninism," the official said.

The economic policies would allow foreign investment and permit foreign companies into the country according to international practice, said the official, a high-ranking PDPA member.

"It will change a lot of things in the country," he said.

Some of the 250,000 PDPA members would not take part in the new party if they refused to accept the new program, said the official.

The most radical members

of the PDPA have already left the party and the central committee has been widely purged, observers said.

Kabul-based diplomats said there could be violent reactions from members of Khad, the Afghan secret police.

This new party would be one among others and no political group would be banned, the Afghan official said.

Observers said it was still too early to know if the plan to form a party that is social democratic in nature would become a reality or if it would serve as a front for the PDPA to maintain indirect influence.

The official said Afghan King Zahir Shah "is a symbol for the people... this must

be remembered... he can play the role of spiritual father of the nation."

King Zahir Shah, exiled in Rome since 1973, recently met Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan, Yuri Vorontsov.

The Soviet Union and the communist regime in Kabul have always favoured the return of the king who during his reign maintained good relations with Moscow.

Extreme fundamentalist Mujahideen remain hostile to the king however, accusing him of pro-Soviet policies and of harbouring neo-colonialism, which they say are incompatible with the Islamic regime they want to install in Afghanistan.

SCMP 12/30

From the Editor:

The Soviets have gone for the moment, but the great game continues. It's musical chairs in Peshawar & Kabul with both sides seemingly unaware that the music has not yet stopped.

Some Afghan noses are out of joint because their owners weren't invited to the shura, dubbed "shurwa" [soup] by some. The 12 invitations to Afghans in the US were delivered through the Military Attache at the Pakistan Embassy in Washington. Other noses were disjoined during a brawl in Peshawar (see p. 17).

Because so much has been written during the past 2 months, we've had to list some articles under "Recent Publications" because we couldn't fit them in without asking you to trade your magnifying glasses for microscopes.

The Bakhtar Information Agency is coding its telexes BNA, so when you read those letters in this issue, keep in mind that you are reading "news" rather than information.

Occasional Paper #28, "Countering the Revolution: The Mujahideen Counterrevolution" by Allen E. Dorn will be sent to those who ordered it [last year] with this issue. If new subscribers or those who didn't order it last year would like a copy, just send us \$5 and we'll send it to you.

The deadline for the next issue is 4/15.

Nawroz greetings to all our Afghan readers with the hope that 1368 will be the year that leads to peace in Afghanistan.

EVENTS

The annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) will be held at the Washington Hilton & Towers from March 17-19. The AAS is calling for panels &/or papers for the 1990 annual meeting which will be held at the Palmer House in Chicago from April 6-8, 1990. Panel proposals should be submitted in duplicate by 8/4/89. AAS regional meetings are as follows: Pacific - Univ. of Hawaii, 6/30 - 7/2/89; Mid Atlantic - Georgetown Univ, Washington, 10/20-22/89; Midwest - Michigan State Univ, East Lansing, 10/28-29/89; Southwest - New Orleans, 11/3-4/89; Western - California State Univ. at Long Beach, 10/20-21/89.

The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore will present "Ikats: Woven Silks from Central Asia from the Rau Collection" from 2/19-4/16.

"Timur & the Princely Vision: Persian Art & Culture in the 15th Century" will be on display at the Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. from 4/16-7/6. The exhibition will travel to the Los Angeles County Museum from 8/13-11/5.

The Textile Museum in Washington will feature "An Introduction to Oriental Carpets: The Arthur D. Jenkins Collection" from 3/18-9/17.

"The Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan" is the title of Sarah Bekker's lecture for the Institute of Asian Studies on 3/1 at 6:30 p.m. The program will be held at St. Peter's Church, 54th St. & Lexington Ave., New York City. Admission is \$10.

The Stockholm Conference on Islam, sponsored by the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, will be held in Stockholm from 4/14-16.

"Contacts between Cultures" is the theme of the 33rd Int'l Congress of Asian & North African Studies to be held at the University of Toronto from 8/19-25, 1990. For further information write Secretariat, 33 ICANAS, % Julia Ching, Victoria College, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, Ont M5S 1K7 Canada.



February 3, 1989

HENRY KRIEGEL

How George Bush Can Avoid an Early Afghanistan Misfire

As the inheritor of the Reagan mantle, George Bush has the unique opportunity of overseeing the history-making victory of the *mujahideen* in Afghanistan. This will mark the first time ever that a communist-imposed regime was overtaken by an anti-communist indigenous movement.

Some hope that this victory will inspire other anti-communist insurgencies as well as East European and Soviet nationalists to secure their freedom. Yet before we uncork the champagne to celebrate and before we move on to other nations we must ensure that the victory in Afghanistan is won. As Mohammad Es'Haq, the political officer for Commander Massoud, said in a recent trip to the United States, "All of this optimism for a quick victory is unfounded."

Even if the Soviets fulfill their withdrawal pledge on time, the heavily fortified Kabul regime may last longer than the six months which State Department officials earlier predicted. The war, as Afghans have confided to this author, will likely continue for another year or two. These Afghans fear continued bloodshed, strife and chaos.

This is not the time for the United States to withdraw its interests from Afghanistan. We need to recognize the historical, geopolitical and moral importance of this nation and region. On this day of Dec. 27, 1988, marking the end of nine years of war in Afghanistan, President-elect George Bush and the leadership and membership of the 101st Congress should reaffirm its support of a free and independent Afghanistan as well as the right of self-determination for the Afghan people. These have been our policy goals throughout the war.

One of the simplest steps George Bush can take towards enhancing U.S. influence with the Afghan resistance is to appoint a "Special Envoy to the Resistance" of ambassadorial rank. The position was created by the Senate in a unanimously approved amendment to the State Department Authorization Act of 1969.

The special envoy/ambassadorial position is a development of an idea first promoted by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the "architect" of the U.S. covert program to the *mujahideen*. Brzezinski, in his testimony before the Congressional Task Force on Afghanistan in June 1985, charged the Reagan Administration with "managerial neglect." Brzezinski advocated the formation of a presidential panel of NSC officials, congressmen and public figures who would advise the president and provide support for the Afghan resistance. Sen. Robert Dole, in the floor discussion of the amendment called it, "the single most important step we can take to achieve (our objectives) is to expand and upgrade our direct contact and liaison with the resistance."

Despite clamoring from Congress, little action was taken on improving the development and coordination of U.S. policy on Afghanistan. At present, there are at least four different bureaus at the State Department and AID in Washington who handle this issue. No one bureau or individual is clearly empowered to coordinate and direct policy. This naturally dissipates the administration's ability to develop and implement policy. As a result, the

"The complex political issue of who will rule Afghanistan in the future necessitates U.S. involvement."

39

individual or bureau with the strongest bureaucratic coalition gets their idea promoted and the policy process is thereby cheapened.

In addition, the United States is heavily reliant on Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence for intelligence information on the resistance and the war as well as the all-important distribution of covert assistance. Many Afghans and their supporters have been openly critical

This means an abandonment of the silly notion of a broad-based coalition government with "non-communist" PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) members. There is no such thing as a non-communist. There is also historical precedent illustrated in revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua of how communists manipulate coalition governments to assume total control.

Being a player also means stricter monitoring of U.S. aid to ensure that it goes to commanders who have proven themselves effective in the battlefield not to those who are favorites in Islamabad or Peshawar.

The special envoy/ambassador with proper staff assistance, can oversee this operation. The ambassador can be stationed in Washington, D.C. if politically necessary, and can be moved to Kabul at the appropriate time, i.e. when the *mujahideen* have taken over. He can play the role envisioned for Brzezinski and inform the president and members of the National Security Council on the latest military and political developments in this fast-changing war.

It should be noted that the State Department appointed Edmund McWilliams as the special envoy to the ambassador to Pakistan, Robert Oakley. McWilliams served nobly in our counsel in Kabul, however, his authority is seriously limited by his position and that of the ambassador to Pakistan. McWilliams cannot file reports directly to Washington without it first being read and approved by Oakley. Oakley is also burdened by his portfolio of Pakistan which, itself, is undergoing major political changes. Oakley cannot, in fairness to his position and

the responsibilities it entails, successfully carry out both duties. In addition, the interests of the *mujahideen* and Pakistan do not entirely overlap and as most foreign service officers suffer from some degree of "clenitenis," Oakley may not be able to professionally serve both interests without compromising one for the other.

Lastly, Bush should prevail upon his mentor, Ronald Reagan, to re-initiate the deliveries of Stingers, Spanish 120mm mortars and mine-clearing equipment to the *mujahideen*. This aid was apparently cut off last May in exchange for a Soviet agreement not to launch offensives during their pullout. The Soviets, true to form, have during their word, and reports indicate that Kandahar, the second largest city in prewar Afghanistan, has been besieged with hundreds of sorties each day for the last six weeks.

Our response should be strong. Send the *mujahideen* Stingers, long-range mortars and mine-clearing equipment to offset this Soviet escalation. Send them better Stingers to take down the higher flying Backfire bombers deployed from Soviet air bases. By appointing a special envoy/ambassador to the *mujahideen* and by helping to continue sophisticated aid, Bush might be able to celebrate this Feb. 15 with fewer doubts of Afghanistan buckfiring during the middle of his administration.

Henry Kriegel is the executive director of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan.



Downloaded by Harvartt Futures Synthesis

of ISI for playing favorites among the seven party Alliance.

Afghanistan is now entering a very delicate and sensitive period of political development. Whereas the military objectives of both Pakistan and the *mujahideen* are one, the political goals are somewhat different. Pakistan would like to see an independent Afghanistan. It would also like to see a resolution to the Pushtun and Baluch peoples of western Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan desire for independence. As a result, Pakistan has gauged its support to those groups which support its political claims.

The complex political issue of who will rule Afghanistan in the future and what kind of government will be in-place necessitates U.S. influence and involvement. To say that America should pour in billions of dollars in covert and humanitarian assistance to the *mujahideen* in a "dark alley" and turn around and walk away is ridiculous. But that is the essence of those who argue that we cannot tell the resistance what to do. That is true only in part but it ignores the good will the United States has generated by our support of both the *mujahideen* and the government of Pakistan. We are players in the Great Game of Afghanistan. We have been on the right side. We have a great chance of winning. And we should help the Afghans decide for themselves what kind of government and leadership they want. (Once "self-determination" is determined and set up as a formal government, then we can declare victory.)

EVERY Thursday for the past few months, eight diplomats have gathered in an embassy building in Kabul to discuss their future. As the Russians make their final, secret withdrawal from this besieged and frightened city.

They call themselves, jokingly, the Unfriendly Powers, and include the British, American, French, Chinese, all of whom are expected to receive a regime of President Najibullah and the nine-year Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Now that this convivial gathering is about to be just a memory — Britain, the United States, France, West Germany, Japan and Italy are all pulling out in the next few days — the committee has only one last question to ask about when (or if) Kabul will fall to the Mujaheddin.

The British are giving Najibullah until April 15th. The Day, the Americans a little longer, and the Chinese, for some inscrutable reason, until the end of the year. The prize is a vote of Soviet, not of the year.

With the Russians due to withdraw most of their remaining 10,000 soldiers from Kabul at the end of this week, 10 days ahead of the February 15 deadline, the only questions being asked are how long Najibullah can survive and how bloody the transition to control by the emerging Mujaheddin will be.

Most expect a period of violent upheaval in the capital as revenge killings by the guerrillas and street fighting on a scale to rival Beirut.

The embassies have prepared for the worst. The American charge d'affaires, who has been presiding over the Soviet humiliation with a concealed grief, keeps a flask jacket, gas mask and helmet on his desk.

On the rare occasions that he ventures out of the embassy compound, accompanied by two car loads of Afghan secret police bodyguards, he carries a revolver.

His mission is guaranteed by four American marines. They will be disappointed to leave after this week. One of them said he "prays every night for combat", and another's recreation is to watch a video called *Scenarios Around the World*.

The British, fortified in their vast 26-acre compound with its elegant colonial buildings, are protected by nine Gurkhas. But, to the amusement of other delegations, these soldiers are

AS the retreating Russians strive to avoid a Vietnam-style humiliation in Kabul, the people they leave behind face a more terrible fate at the hands of the Mujaheddin, reports JOHN WITHEROW.

armed with nothing more than kukris.

This siege mentality, with its overtones of Saigon and Phnom Penh, has spread to the other 25 missions. Even the Iranians — pro-represents of diplomatic immunity — have been welding steel plates to their perimeter fence. The Russians, who are most at risk and are determined to stay, have cut down the trees outside their fortress compound. The Americans believe this is for an emergency landing strip.

Only the French have shown real good-faith. Their half-Vietnamese helicopter pilot, who still has his Icelandic wife here, is protected by a former Malaysian traffic policeman. "What's the problem?" he declares. "It's sunny. It's like the beach."

For the Russians, desperately trying to retreat with honour after 109 months and 13,000 dead, the next two weeks will be a testing time. Amid the growing tensions and diplomatic departures, the Russians are pulling out their own withdrawal very quiet for security reasons, and are anxious to be seen not to panic.

"We are not hanging on to helicopters," is a common refrain from senior officers, resentful of any comparison with the panicky American withdrawal from Saigon in 1975. "It is orderly."

Guerrillas regularly make their way up the Salang highway — "the road of life" — to the Soviet Union. Above the city there is the constant drone of aircraft flying in supplies and taking out men and equipment.

During the day, the skies are streaked with the white trails of magnesium flares fired by the *Ilyushin-76s* to decoy heat-seeking missiles. At night, the beautiful, snow-capped mountains that ring Kabul echo to the sound of anti-aircraft guns. Helicopters sweep low over the city after night raids.

Kabul is a city-in-waiting. Fear ebbs and flows according to rumour and the length of the bread and pet-

rol queues. At night half the city is blacked out, adding to the atmosphere of crisis. Few venture on to the streets.

Amid the hunger and bitter cold, there is suppressed anger and tension and a gradual erosion of order. Fights have broken out in food lines. There has been sporadic shooting. Soldiers at road blocks have become more aggressive, demanding cigarettes and even money. Tens of thousands of people wander the streets carrying Kalashnikov automatic rifles.

Even the Russians, who have a relieved, end-of-term air, seem ill-disciplined. I watched one young soldier tank on the outskirts of town fire his automatic weapon into the ground only a few yards from some small Afghan houses. No officer reprimanded him.

Guerrilla rocket attacks have become sporadic, and the deceptive air of calm gives a superficial normality to the city. The markets, where the stalls remain open. But prices are spiralling out of the reach of the poor. The guerrillas are fearing the worst.

Nobody underestimates the Mujaheddin capacity for revenge. They know that many of their scores have yet to be settled.

Each day long queues form outside the Indian embassy for visas. Stories abound of lives savings being paid to corrupt officials to exit papers.

Enterprising Afghans have set up overland escape routes for those who can afford a fee equivalent to six months' salary.

Escape is fraught with danger. Letters have arrived in Kabul relating the horrors of the journeys through the desecrated mountains and others have lost their toes to frostbite.

Afghan professionals beg foreigners to help them leave the country. One hospital has already lost 20 doctors.

Fat, in the end, few of Kabul's swollen population of 2.3 million will escape.

A Soviet airlift has been tried to overcome the shortages caused by the closure of the highway linking Kabul to the Soviet Union due to the Soviet Union's loss of control over the mountainous regions and a harsh winter. Soviet forces in Afghanistan are to be pulled out by February 15 under a Geneva peace accord.

Regarding supplies of gasoline and heating oil, the exhausted Soviet ambassador said difficulties but said the city also had enough for three months.

Most are trapped by the siege and by ties to their families. There is now a mood of resignation.

The Red Cross is taking no chances. Its small hospital, already full of limber young men, has prepared a makeshift ward with 100 empty beds. "I fear we will need them all," said a senior Swedish nurse. Those who reach the Red Cross will be lucky.

Afghan hospitals are frequently without power and desperately unhygienic and short of medicine. It has become commonplace for people in this war to succumb to even minor wounds.

But another fear pervades the city. Despite a loosening of the grip of the secret police and the almost socialist-democratic tone of this once hard-line communist government, most people are afraid to talk.

There is a palpable hatred of the Russians. Any westerner is automatically assumed to be Russian and is met with hostile stares and a contemptuous spitting. Photographers have been stoned by small boys shouting "Ruskie, Ruskie." A driver referred to the Russians as "dogs."

Even the Afghan soldiers seem to dislike their allies. Many blame the food shortages on Moscow, though it is the Russians who are flying in the food. "Before they came in 1979 we had plenty," said one professional. "Now we have nothing."

Entrenched in his palace in the centre of the city, protected for the moment by Russian troops, Najibullah confers daily with Yuli Voronov, the deputy foreign minister and Soviet ambassador.

But despite his defiance, there are clear signs of unease. Families of senior party members have been sent to safety near the Soviet border. There is an air of desperation about the numerous slogans extolling people to "fight to defend your city." One Afghan pointed out ironically that the slogans used to call for the defence of the country.

The Soviet Afghan military have thrown artillery and planes into a last big show of force for control of the vital Salang highway, killing hundreds of civilians, if reports reaching western diplomats in Pakistan are correct.

It is one of the extraordinary aspects of this war that a sporadic truce was reported in operation along the road north, and control of road blocks with Soviet acquiescence. Now reports say the road and surrounding villages have been littered with bodies.

But even if the Russians have regained control, the highway may soon be cut again by the guerrillas after the Russians have gone. In those circumstances, keeping Kabul supplied could mean up to 15 flights a day by the giant IL-76 aircraft, an airlift that would be prohibitively expensive.

But there is no evidence that the Government can break the blockade by any other means. It is a stalemate, and as long as the guerrillas do not fight among themselves, their victory seems assured.

SCMP 1/31

CALLING ALL AFGHANS...

The Int'l Committee for Migration, 440 Nat'l Press Bldg, 529 14th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20045 is conducting a survey of Afghans living in industrialized countries to determine 1) their interest in returning to Afghanistan to contribute their skills to the rebuilding process; 2) the conditions for return; & 3) the requirements people will have to return. From information gathered from those who respond to the survey, the actual return program will be designed by the end of 1989. The ICM also wants to put together a directory of Afghan professionals who will be interested in employment in Afghanistan, either on a short-term or long-term basis. All individual questionnaire responses will be kept confidential. Afghans interested in participating should contact ICM at the above address or call (202) 622-7099.

SOVIETS HINT AT AFGHAN'S PLAN

Soviet officials say the embattled Afghan regime of President Najibullah may withdraw to an outlying province if military pressure around Kabul becomes unbearable. Soviet troops are due out of Afghanistan by Feb. 15.

The officials, who include senior policy makers, have not mentioned any names, but the northern province of Mazari-Sharif has long been the subject of speculation. Western and pro-guerrilla sources have suggested Moscow would turn the area into a puppet government.

Officials in Moscow, however, stress that the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) should, by virtue of its numbers and guns, be included in a coalition government. They say the West is repeating a mistake that Moscow made until recently. It does not realize that no single Afghan faction is capable of controlling the situation on its own.

But Soviet criticism of the PDPA has also intensified. Soviet reporters in Afghanistan are critical of the government's failure to get food to Kabul's inhabitants. They record PDPA infighting, and note that opposition activists are "filleting" into Kabul, thus causing doubt on the PDPA's ability to hold the city.

(On Monday, the U.S. and Britain closed their embassies in Kabul, for security reasons.)

Peri Quinn-Judge

THE CHRISTIAN
SCIENCE MONITOR
February 1, 1989

...L has food and fuel supplies to last for three months, said the mayor of the Afghan capital, "which has been ravaged by shortages one month before the Soviet withdrawal."

General Mohammed Hakim said Kabul had 57,000 tonnes of flour and wheat on hand in government stores, enough to feed its population, which he estimated at 1.5 million people, for three months.

Rival states formed

ASADABAD, Afghanistan (UPI) — White or green flags fluttering from burned-out buildings illustrate the deep divisions plaguing Asadabad, where rebel factions have established rival governments since taking over the provincial capital three months ago.

No armed clashes have taken place in the dispute among the Islamic guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Afghan government portends other power struggles once the Soviets and the Kabul regime of President Najibullah are no longer there to unite the guerrilla factions.

Asadabad, 120 miles northeast of Kabul in Kunar Province, was abandoned by government forces and occupied by rebels Oct. 11, one of the first provincial capitals to fall under guerrilla control since Moscow began withdrawing its troops May 15. The pullout is to be completed by Feb. 15 under U.N.-mediated accords.

But within weeks of taking over Asadabad, both the seven-party Pakistan-based Afghan rebel alliance and the rival Ahle-Hadith guerrilla group, which recently gained in strength with Arab funding, formed provincial governments.

Asadabad, which had a pre-war population of 30,000 but is now occupied almost entirely by guerrillas, lies in a picturesque valley of the Hindu Kush mountains. It has been severely damaged by years of rocket attacks by the resistance and bombings by government forces following the rebel seizure.

Dogs scavenge for scraps in the rubble of mud and stone buildings. A few makeshift stores sell fruit, nuts, clothing and military gear lifted from dead Soviet and Afghan soldiers at the war front.

Afghan Guerrillas Fight for the Limelight

By DONATELLA LORCH
Special to The New York Times

PESHAWAR, Pakistan, Feb. 11 — After nine years of war in Afghanistan, most of the guerrilla groups have ceased public relations to the world. Each of the seven guerrilla groups based in Pakistan has its own English-speaking press and political offices. It is no wonder, a Western diplomat said, that there are 10 versions to every story.

A distorted picture is inevitable at this time, he said. An Afghan commander was similarly disparaging of the competition among the ostensibly united parties. "The power of the alliance," he says, "is one thing, all the other parties issue their own press releases giving their own versions."

As the Feb. 15 deadline nears for the completion of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and visas for Kabul

Factions preparing to divide spoils

Seven disparate Afghan political groups, representing the country's Sunni Muslim majority, are based in Pakistan. Their military strength varies from a few hundred to 15,000 guerrillas, drawn from the country's main ethnic groups: Pathan, Tajik and Uzbek.

Their alliance is noted more for divisions than for unity. A rival eight-party alliance of Afghan's minority and frequently persecuted Shias is under the control of Iran.

Jamiat Islami Afghanistan, led by an Islamic scholar, Burhanuddin Rabbani, is one of the oldest and best organized Mujahideen forces. His estimated 20,000 followers are mainly Tajiks from northern and western Afghanistan.

The legendary Ahmad Shah Massud is Jamiat's senior commander. His control is centered on the Panjshir Valley, north of Kabul, and extends to the Salang highway, the main road from the capital to the Soviet border.

Yunis Khalis, a Pathan, called the Fighting Mullah, fronts the faction of the Hezbe Islami, an uncompromising Islamic fundamentalist. He is one of the few political leaders to have been an active part in the fighting. His local commanders, among them Abdul Haq, the English-speaking acceptable face of Islam, enjoy considerable autonomy.

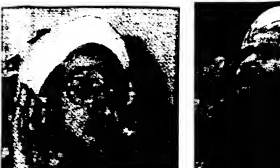
Nothing happens in or around Kabul without the knowledge of Abdul Haq, who would be ready for the fall of the city.

Another faction of the Hezbe Islami, run by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, is the most controversial group in the resistance. Ambitious and possibly ruthless, he is the protégé of Pakistan's powerful military intelligence organization, the ISI, which has been responsible for disbursing United States and Chinese funds to the guerrillas.

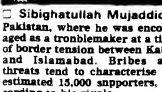
In the early 1970s he fled to



□ Burhanuddin Rabbani.



□ Pir Sayed Gailani.



□ Sighbatullah Mujaddidi.

Pakistan, where he was encouraged as a troublemaker at a time of border tension between Kabul and Islamabad. Bribes and threats tend to characterize his estimated 15,000 supporters, according to his rivals.

The National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, led by Pir Sayed Gailani, is the best-known abroad of Afghanistan's three traditional parties.

It is dominated by the Gailani family, which claims descent from the prophet Mohammed. Western-leaning, it is often called the Gucci Front by its detractors because of the veneer of sophistication associated with the Pir's sons and nephews.

The Pir has a big religious

Egyptian-educated religious scholar is a traditionalist.

Of all the insurgent groups, Harakate Enqelabe Islami is probably the most effective and the biggest.

Its support is certainly the most widespread, from Paktia province in the east to Fara in the west near the Iranian border.

Its Pathan leader, Mohammed Nabi Mohammadi, is a traditionalist at heart, but has attracted moderates, and his group has a large popular following. Unlike other religious scholars in the resistance, he has experience of government.

He won election to parliament in the 1960s during King Zahir Shah's experiments with democracy. He is an unassuming man who is more keen on liberating his country than political aggrandizement.

Ittihad Islami is the smallest of the Sunni fundamentalist insurgent groups. Its influence is based on the large funds it has at its disposal, and most of its insurgents are mercenaries.

Its leader, Rasool Sayar, is from the Wabulsi sect of Islam and is heavily financed by Saudi Arabia's ruling family.

Harakate Islami Afghanistan is the biggest of the Shia groups of the eight Iran-backed Shia groups.

It came late to the fighting, one Iran had established its control of the Shia resistance from the refugee camps along the border. Its leader is Sheikh Mohammed Huseini, a Tajik, who is relatively strong around Kabul — one reason why he has been a frequent target of the eight Iran-backed Shia groups.

In most cases the remaining Shia resistance is known by its name only. The Independent

backing of Pakistan, and the fact that the news service chooses to control the news from the council meeting, says a Western analyst, shows the extent to which the Pakistani government is governing and manipulating the politics of the Afghan war.

'Organized in Propaganda'
In a field of media manipulators, Mr. Hekmatyar has been the most successful. Western diplomats attribute this to greater organization as well as intimidation tactics. He holds press conferences more frequently than the others and makes tapes and films of his interviews. He has also published a list of names — Western journalists who have been critical of his party — saying that they have "defamed the cause of Islam" and he has verbally threatened them.

"Hekmatyar was the first to understand propaganda and is still the best organized in propaganda," said an American journalist who has been covering the war since 1979 and has himself threatened by Mr. Hekmatyar. "There are other problems. When traveling with the guerrillas of a particular faction, it is difficult to see the wider, many-faceted picture."

"When you go in, you are sort of a prisoner of the group you are with," said a Western diplomat. "You see individual party operations and what the party wants you to see because it is impossible to travel independently from party to party. Few have the time or the willingness to take into account

the complexity of the military power structure. Of course the facts are going to come out distorted."

An Afghan with close ties to one of the more conservative Islamic parties offered his interpretation of Western journalism. "You put the words fundamentalists and moderates back to back in every sentence and you have defined the mujahideen."

In Peshawar, a foggy border town that serves as headquarters for the seven guerrilla groups, every resident goes "inside" — a term alluding to the illegal trips into Afghanistan with the guerrillas.

Over the course of the war, the means of coverage have changed dramatically. Journalists used to secretly organize trips into Afghanistan through one of the Afghan political parties and then were smuggled in local garb past Pakistani checkpoints across the border.

But now, American journalists in United States Army surplus jackets are a familiar sight, and cross-border trips are discussed openly. New guerrilla road networks even allow travel in style in four-wheel drive vehicles.

The parties are unbalanced in taking advantage of the publicity opportunity provided by the troops of journalists. "I don't see why we shouldn't use the media," said one Afghan journalist. "I don't see why we shouldn't use the media to our own purposes?"

One particularly popular offering by the parties is the quick tour — one or two or three days — of party installations in Afghanistan. One party, the most active in tours, is the Islamic mujahideen with guns and to be back in time for their Feb. 15 deadline," said one journalist.

Newhall Signal & Saugus Enterprise

January 15, 1989

THE HONGKONG STANDARD

February 5, 1989

NYT 2/12

Tough Times

KABUL

These are difficult times for the few Soviets who will remain here when the last livestock takes off from Kabul airport and Moscow's troop withdrawal is complete.

No one is saying how many will stay behind to assist the besieged Soviet-backed government in Kabul, but the best guess is between 100 and 150, including security men, who will all live behind the double walls of a sprawling compound in the southwestern sector of the city.

Nearby houses, which were home to dozens of U.S. Agency for International Development families before the buildings were occupied by Soviets when Kabul's Russian decade began in 1979, will sit empty, waiting for the next occupants to try their hand at shaping a country that doesn't like foreigners telling it what to do.

"We will be taking special precautions," said one Soviet, who is staying behind as Moscow ends its unsuccessful 1980 battle to defeat the U.S.-backed Afghan rebels.

One such precaution will be keeping everybody behind the walls of the compound. The bureau of the Soviet news agency Tass, leaving a cut in transmission lines, obtained a radio truck from a departing Air Force unit so it can send dispatches from the compound to the Soviet city of Tashkent.

Just how much protection the embassy walls will offer remains unclear, however. An observer said: "They have a moat and double walls, but what's going to keep things from coming over the top?"

The same skepticism applies to the much-discussed embassy "air-raid" longways. Afghan warlords, when chain saws and bulldozers started to work a few weeks ago on trees lining the wide road that goes past the embassy.

It became clear that they were building an emergency airstrip. The width of the road was carefully paced out and it was determined that the workhorse Antonov-36, a twin-prop aircraft, could just make takeoffs and landings on the strip.

It was a view that was discouraged by some western emissaries before they were closed amid Kabul's deteriorating security situation. One diplomat noted in a moment of candor, however, that the airport might not turn out exactly as planned.

"Have you ever seen Afghan road-building techniques? That plane would come to a stop, sink three inches into the roadbed and never move another inch," he said with a smile.

Then he added: "Maybe it's for helicopters. They've got extra-long-range (steel) tanks on the bigger ones. Probably could make it to the airport without too much trouble."

It was only a few weeks ago that a Soviet acquaintance said with determination in his voice: "We may be leaving here, but it won't be like you Americans—on the heels of helicopters." He was referring to the frenzied 1975 U.S. evacuation of the Vietnamese city then known as Saigon as communist troops rolled in. Americans were evacuated from rooftop buildings as desperate South Vietnamese clung to the helicopters' skirts.

Kabul Waits For Trouble

Guns, Clans Replace Soviets as Protectors

By Richard M. Weintraub
Washington Post Foreign Service

KABUL, Afghanistan, Feb. 1—The two young Afghan soldiers leaped against the car, looking warily at a superior officer who had just wandered away. Helicopters passed overhead noisily, on their way to a flight of a few miles up the road.

"Things are difficult," said one, in answer to a question.

"What is difficult? Food?" he was asked.

"No, the *muhaddeds*," he said, looking off toward the snow-covered mountains only a few hundred yards away where anti-government resistance fighters may well be poised to lay siege to this capital.

"And what will happen when the Russians leave?"

"The *muhaddeds*," the soldier answered without a pause.

Everywhere in this besieged capital there is a common answer to questions about conditions in this 10th and perhaps final winter of Afghanistan's bitter war:

"Things are difficult."

But the answer means different things to different people. To some, it is the difficulty in finding cheap food or cooking fuel or gasoline for a car. To others, it is the uncertainty of what will happen if the government of President Najibullah falls or *muhaddeds* forces push to the city. To all, it is a basic unease over the fact that Soviet troops are leaving Afghanistan—and *we* are the shield that has kept a capital of 2.2 million people safe from the devastation that wracked the Afghan countryside.

In this time of uncertainty, the Afghans of Kabul are talking back about what they know best. For the Soviet-installed ruling People's Democratic Party, it is a time for vigilance and the power of the gun.

For the poor, for the merchant, for the man or woman caught in between, it is a time for the clan.

The stronger of these two will do



Afghans seeking a safe haven ride precariously on a jammed van in Kabul, much to determine the future. There is little to suggest a city at Afghanistan. Unless the diplomats war except the sight of uniformed and political manipulators manage a men everywhere.

A line of people at a store window tells a different story, however. A head-to-head around Kabul in a few vehicles snaking up to the city's main gas station. They speak of warm shortages—the first affecting the people who do not have the money to buy in the well-stocked shops, the second a basic fact of life in the Afghan capital.

Sometimes the tensions boil over pushing and shoving matches, or worse. Soviet soldiers at first distributed emergency food supplies in the city's poor districts, but now they do it as factotums or other intrusions to hand, killing at least two persons, according to an official source.

Five months ago, a 115-pound bag of wheat cost 2,300 afghans. The average salary is only 3,000 afghans. Today, it is 8,000 afghans for the same bag, said an official.

But Kabul is the ultimate bazaar society and there is food in the markets. Oranges from Pakistan are available as are pomegranates from war-torn Kandahar Province. For the well-off, Russian brandy and champagne are plentiful, as is Laughing Cow cheese, dumped by departing Soviet soldiers or from western emissaries or aid stocks that somehow slip into the market.

"We have had worse moments," said a Kabul resident. "Most do have flour, rice and sugar at home, or the extended family helps out as best it can."

Still, the struggle to get enough to eat and keep stocks up is a difficult one. Ministers reportedly are operating at half as much strength as people are on food lines rather than at their desks. Those in the offices seem to gather around one desk to discuss the latest events rather than doing their jobs, said a diplomat with close contacts at key ministries.

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day, the struggle to get enough to eat and keep stocks up is a difficult one. Ministers reportedly are operating at half as much strength as people are on food lines rather than at their desks. Those in the offices seem to gather around one desk to discuss the latest events rather than doing their jobs, said a diplomat with close contacts at key ministries.

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Had the Soviets not staged a may-

day resupply effort by land and air, there could have been a crisis, according to one source, who said regular wheat stocks for the city now are sufficient for one week.

The merchant huddled by a tiny kerosene stove in the darkened back of his small shop, trying to ward off the winter chill that has seized the city.

"No customers, almost no customers for a month," he lamented, looking at the collection of tribal jewelry, old swords, samirans and brick-a-brac that lined the walls and covered the dusty floors.

"My brother sends me money so the family can eat. I am the older one, so I stay here. He is in Peshawar, in Pakistan, the merchant said. It is this closeness of family that some longtime observers have said will spare Kabul the bloodbath that many are predicting, and is the reason that for all the uncertainty in the capital, there is little viable panic.

"They rely a lot on the clan to which they belong," said one observer. "This is a clan society. Other loyalties don't mean as much. Ideology never penetrated deeply here. One brother will be with the *muhaddeds* and one in the Army. They will not kill each other."

For all the suppressed hopes, however, signs that war may be coming to Kabul are everywhere.

Deep in an old bazaar, a poster appeared a wall magnet. A large hand reaching over a mountain shaped like one on the edge of the city, it is labeled "Muhaddeds." The hand is holding a banner that reads "Najibullah by the legs and pulling him toward the mountains. Najibullah is the hand of the *muhaddeds*—labeled 'Russians.' That the chair is about to be pulled from Najibullah's grasp is lost on no one.

At a hospital in the city where most of the staff are party members, there was a noticeable change in attitude a few weeks ago. "We had become clear that a day of reckoning was coming. 'Suddenly people started to leave. We had to ask: What could we do?' they began to say," according to a Kabul resident.

For the hardened party faithful and the *muhaddeds* alike, there is a little room for maneuver. For the little man who sowed the ruling party, whether out of conviction or to hold a job, it is a time of anxiety, a time of testing of the clan.

For the top-ranking party leader reportedly told a recent visitor that faithful party workers are being heavily armed—and there is evidence in the streets of Kabul, especially at night, that this is the case.

The few cars that venture out on the encounter groups of the young men had tried to get into the car to question him.

A doctor connected to an aid organization was stopped at a roadblock the other night by about 15 of these guys," one internationalist official said. "He told them it was a doctor but it was a tense situation for a while."

The official said he himself had been stopped at a street corner in broad daylight and a number of the young men had tried to get into the car to question him.

Roadblocks are not new to the city, but especially at night, but the tense confrontations are new and a sign of the times.

A lot of people have gone, especially from the one family whose resident searching for signs of which way events are moving.

Others said, however, that it was too early to tell—that in three months, or six months, the outline of the future will be clearer.

For now, it is a matter of watching and waiting.

THE WASHINGTON POST

February 2, 1989

THE WASHINGTON POST

FEBRUARY 13, 1989

Pakistan Facing New Flood of Refugees From Afghanistan

By MARK FINEMAN, Times Staff Writer

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan—Tens of thousands of Afghan refugees are waiting to flee their country despite Wednesday's final Soviet troop withdrawal, and Pakistan is bracing for yet another human wave from a western neighbor in the near future, senior Pakistani government officials said Thursday.

What is worse, Pakistan's chief commissioner for Afghan refugees said, few if any of the 3.2 million Afghans who have been living in the squalid mud huts of the refugee camps here for the past nine years are likely to go home until Afghan President Najibullah's regime falls. Many experts here believe that could take months.

"We simply do not expect them to start moving out tomorrow morning," declared Rustom Shah Mohmand, "the fear of conflict, the fear of homelessness, the fear of shelling, the fear of prosecution, the fear of hostilities. And as long as there are those fears and the fear of famine and starvation, no refugee will leave Pakistan."

Won't Be Forced to Go

Speaking at a Thursday press conference to mark the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, Mohmand said Pakistan's civilian minister in charge of refugee affairs, stressed that Pakistan will not force any refugees to go or to

stay. But he stressed that any hopes that the Soviet withdrawal would signal a large-scale return of refugees to their homelands are unfounded.

In fact, commissioner Shah Mohmand said, recent fighting near the eastern Afghan city of Jalalabad has forced more than 30,000 new refugees to cross the border in the past three months, and the rebel rocket offensive on that city is likely to bring tens of thousands more, he said.

For the millions of refugees who have been here for nearly a decade, peace and security are the principal issues in considering repatriation, he said.

"The basic reason that compelled the refugees to leave Afghanistan was security," he said. "As long as there is no security, they will not go back."

Shah Mohmand conceded that not enough has been done to repair the damage inside Afghanistan to meet the refugees' other basic requirements.

"The refugees will not go back unless they see some infrastructure, unless they see they aren't going to starve, and unless they have houses to live in," he said.

Independent aid officials who have been working with the Afghan rebels and refugees for years agreed.

"They're brave and strong and courageous all right, but they can't eat dirt," said Steve Segal, director

of the International Relief Committee, which has been working with the Afghan refugees for nearly a decade. "If there is nothing done about infrastructure, we don't think they're going to go back."

Shah Mohmand and other refugee officials say that now that the Soviet troops have left Afghanistan, the fate of the world's largest refugee population remains the

'They're brave and strong and courageous all right, but they can't eat dirt.'

—Steve Segal
International Relief Committee

biggest international problem of the Afghan war.

Billions of dollars already have been spent by the United States, Pakistan and Western European nations in supporting the Afghan rebels in their war against the former Afghan army and their Soviet supporters. Now that the Soviets are no longer a factor, refugee experts say they worry that much of that international financial support, both for the fighting guerrillas and the refugees—groups that often overlap—may begin to dry up.

"Our calculations originally were

that by April or May we would see large numbers of refugees start to return," said one official of the United Nations, which has been charged with overseeing the Afghans' repatriation. "But . . . if conditions are not stable and if fighting continues, you will see more refugees coming out."

The U.N. official conceded that an overwhelming majority of the refugees fled during 1980 and 1981 as a direct result of the Soviet's 1979 invasion.

"It had to do with the escalation in fighting and the use of new weapons systems and air force, which made everybody vulnerable," he said.

But he and Shah Mohmand said the massive destruction that has been done to Afghanistan during the past nine years—3,000 villages totally destroyed and 5,000 others badly damaged, Mohmand said—has made the refugees return impossible.

The United Nations already has begun limited reconstruction projects in Afghanistan in some regions where the fighting has stopped, principally the rebuilding of irrigation canals and houses.

But it remains unclear whether enough can be done to persuade the refugees to go home before Pakistani public opinion begins to turn against the people who have been harbored and fed as Islamic brothers for nearly a decade.

"Any government that is faced

with a refugee population the size of this one is anxious to see an end to the conflict that caused these people to flee," the U.N. official said.

An independent aid worker who has spent several years in border refugee camps agreed that reconstruction is the principal refugee concern, but he, too, added that "the other big issue is what will the Pakistani government do. Will they begin to cut off ration cards to send signals to the refugees?"

Already, Shah Mohmand said, the 30,000 new refugees have been denied the registration that would get them ration cards and access to U.N.-provided food. He said they are surviving by staying with relatives in the camps or selling off their few possessions.

He stressed that life in the camps, although free of epidemics and other critical problems often associated with refugee life, is not such that the Afghans would want to stay any longer than they must.

"The refugees' life in Pakistan is absolutely substandard," he said. "It is miserable. All they are getting is wheat and edible oil. The absolute majority of them are living in wretched conditions. There is no electricity. Fifty percent are living without clean drinking water."

"We are convinced that each and every refugee will repatriate—some will go sooner, some will go later."

With Soviets Gone, U.S. Should Demand a Referendum for Self-Determination

By ASHRAF GHANI

The Soviets have left Afghanistan, making the collapse of the besieged puppet regime in Kabul just a matter of time. President Bush has a unique opportunity to define a positive agenda for the future of that country, yet for now he has chosen to merely affirm that the United States will continue to supply the Afghan resistance with military assistance.

Rather than additional means of destruction, the Afghan people are most in need of constructive measures. The Bush Administration could insist that the Afghan people be given the right to self-determination and take the initiative by channeling future economic assistance only to a government freely chosen. By doing so, it could help thwart blatant Pakistani and Iranian attempts at determining the future of Afghanistan and at fanning the flames of civil war.

The Afghan people have no desire that the United States micromanage their politics. Rather, they wish that the United States end its policy of collusion with the Pakistani generals in choosing the cast of political actors and writing the script for the future of their country.

Over the years Washington has been entrusting military intelligence with the distribution of more than \$2 billion in military and financial aid to the Afghan resistance, and with the allocation of Stinger missiles to the Afghan resistance.

As long as the Soviet army was occupying their country, Afghan refugees had no choice but to accept the price exacted by Pakistan. But now that the United States insists on backing seven individuals declining to them to act as leaders of the resistance inside Pakistan, they also considered it their privilege to decide how and whom to favor any of these groups. Local leaders inside Afghanistan, in need of arms and money, had no choice but to declare affiliation with one of these parties

The departure of the Soviet forces however, frees the resistance inside Afghanistan from this dependence. Should a legitimate interim government emerge, it would be free to realize the aspirations of the Afghan people and committed to the reconstruction of the country, the commanders are likely to support its authority.

But the situation as it stands now finds Islamabad frantically trying to give its seven-party alliance the mantle of legitimacy by convening a consultative council, or *shura*. Simultaneously, Tehran is adding a religious dimension to the already intricate balancing act by demanding a significant role for eight Shiite parties that are based in Iran. Reports filtering out from inside Afghanistan also tell of Pakistani generals who have been urging resistance commanders to attack the cities, regardless of the bloodbath and the chaos that are sure to ensue. Only the restraint shown by commanders of the resistance has thus far prevented the execution of these plans.

In the absence of an interim government to represent the voice of the Afghan people, there is no incentive for the peaceful surrender of Kabul and other cities still in the hands of the Soviet-backed regime. Nearly 3 million civilians, locked in besieged cities and already on the brink of starvation, are sure to suffer tremendous losses should the encircling resistance groups attack the capital.

Surely the starving of civilians of Kabul is not what the Bush Administration wants its "kinder, gentler America" to contribute to.

There is a time for Bush to act decisively and call for an end of arms and clearly supporting a political solution. The President can call for a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations—a logical choice following the precedents of last April that made the withdrawal of the Soviet forces possible. The referendum would be held simultaneously

in Pakistan, Iran and the parts of Afghanistan that are free of the Soviet-backed regime.

Such a referendum would ascertain the relative weight of each of the 15 pro-Pakistani or pro-Iranian parties, as well as that of independent groups or leaders. It would allow the emergence of a responsible and accountable leadership that the Afghan people could call their own.

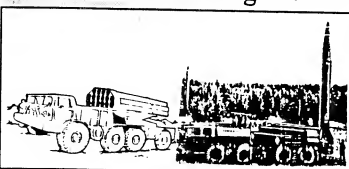
After all, let us not forget that, aside from the nine years of Soviet occupation, Afghanistan can boast of nearly 300 years

of recorded history of self-rule. And, as one resistance commander has been quoted by Western correspondents, there can be no compromise on "liberty, dignity and honor." If Washington ceases to view Afghans as mercenaries in its anti-Soviet crusade, it might be able to understand their longings for independence, peace and prosperity.

Ashraf Ghani, formerly a lecturer at Kabul University, is an assistant professor of anthropology at Johns Hopkins University.

LAT 2/15

Soviets send 360 BM-27 missiles for regime



* BM-27 system

* Scud in launch position

A convoy carrying 360 BM-27 rockets sent to the regime on January 7 secondly strengthened the position of the regime crossed the Soviet-Afghan border.

Recently Soviets have given BM-27 rockets to the regime and the special Guard Units of the regime have started to use them against the Mujahideen.

The system, codenamed Organ, was deployed in the recent attacks on Panjshir and Salang.

The rocket which has a range of 40 Kilometers delivers a warhead of 360 Kilograms of explosives.

The system has 16 barrels and is mounted on a truck.

Scud and BM-27 rockets are used against area targets. These weapons pose a serious threat to the villages and towns controlled by the Mujahideen.

The Chicago Tribune

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Afghan Educational Jihad

BY: M. Yaqub Roshan

"AFGANTSI"

Anthony Arnold sent us this transcript of a film made by Yorkshire TV with the cooperation of a Soviet News Agency:

BBC CENTRAL TALKS AND FEATURES
CURRENT AFFAIRS UNIT
CARIS Report No.78/88
AFGANTSI; THEIR OWN STORY
By Stephen Dalziel (S)

7 OCTOBER 1988

1. ANNOUNCER: The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is well underway. By the 15th of August the first half of the 110,000 strong contingent were back home. The war which for so long was shrouded in secrecy has now become a running sore for many Soviet citizens. British television viewers have been given a rare insight into how Soviet soldiers and their families feel about the war in Afghanistan in a highly revealing programme broadcast by Yorkshire Television.

2. TAPE BAND 1 (Soviet troops marching, singing patriotic song; 8", fade)

3. NARR: The sound of Soviet paratroopers marching in Kabul. In almost nine years of fighting in Afghanistan, the paratroopers have proved their worth as crack fighting troops. They are carefully selected; only the fittest and most able conscripts join their ranks. One such soldier, Senior Sergeant Volodya Penchuk, talked of what the soldiers' feelings were when they first arrived:

4. TAPE BAND 2 (Penchuk; 20"): Everyone wanted to have a go at the bandits as soon as possible, to shoot at them. You just had to kill one of them...but now we don't want to do any more shooting and killing.

5. TAPE BAND 3 (Sound of gunfire 25")

6. NARR: The paratroopers in particular have seen plenty of action. Often the fighting was savage.

7. TAPE BAND 4 (Penchuk; 46"): The deputy company commander then allowed us to open fire on the village. The whole company immediately leapt into the vehicle, and we opened up with all guns blazing. The walls were only about fifty metres away, but we just let rip. The lads were in such a state by then that...I can't even remember now exactly what it was like. We just fired and fired.

8. NARR: But the brutality of the war in Afghanistan has come not only from the Soviet side. Aleksandr Solomon, a former sergeant who during his service in Afghanistan won his country's highest award, Hero of the Soviet Union, described one incident which made Soviet soldiers hungry for revenge:

9. TAPE BAND 5 (Solomon; 43"): We were on a raid on a village when we came across some of our lads who'd been recently captured by the rebels. They'd been treated to one of their favourite methods of punishment, or humiliation. It's known as "taking the shirt off". They cut the skin all round the waist and simply lift it off. Sometimes they tie it in a knot over the guy's head. At least then he dies more quickly. But sometimes they just peel off the skin up to the neck...the guy's, you know, still conscious for quite a while. You can imagine it -- the heat, the flies, on all this bare seat...it's an agonizing death.

10. NARR: The horror of the war was graphically illustrated in the film by scenes shot some days after a battle. Decomposing bodies lay where they had fallen. A hungry dog pulled at the arm of one, tearing off the flesh. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that many Soviet soldiers began to look for consolation in drugs. A former senior sergeant, Viktor Sulimov, recalled that this was a common experience:

11. TAPE BAND 6 (Sulimov; 59"): Almost immediately cannabis began to appear, and those who'd already served for a while began to use it. I, for example, the whole time I was in Afghanistan, except when I was in hospital, smoked it virtually every day. I didn't use it when we went on a raid, though I know there were guys who smoked it even then. We'd get it when we were on raids or by swapping things for it. We had parade uniforms which were of no use to us, sometimes we'd even swap tins of corned beef, though we'd think twice before doing that.

12. NARR: The longer a soldier served in Afghanistan, the more disillusioned he would become. He became convinced that the war was a useless exercise. Nothing served to bring this home to soldiers more than if they were wounded. Lying in the Soviet Military Hospital in Kabul for up to two years gave a man plenty of time for reflection. One such soldier was Nikolai Chekan:

...The education of children and youths, and the preparation of future generation of Afghans for safeguarding the values of the sacred religion of Islam and the freedom and independence of our homeland, constitutes the second front of Jihad against the enemy's sinister ideological motives.

All along these years, the enemy has endeavoured to poison the minds of Afghan children and youths mobilizing all their resources and efforts. As a consequence, thousands of Afghans children and youths have been sent to Russia and other Eastern-block countries, apparently in the name of education, to get brain-washed and reformed. In these countries, they are then subjected to propaganda and the hateful philosophy of Marxism-Leninism is inculcated into their minds with great stress and emphasis. The students are also shown the outwardly deceptive scenes of progress and social welfare under the social imperialist regimes. Due to their immature age, many of these students are deceived by the superficial spectacle and are soon led into the communist trap. In fact their education entails a weakening or elimination of their belief in God, religion, patriotism and freedom, and instead indoctrinate them with false concept of materialism and the thoughts of slavery.

Afterwards, when they are sent back to their country, they are used against their own people to oppose the faith and beliefs of their families, relatives, friends, and finally the whole Muslim and freedom-loving society.

In Afghanistan, the Russians and their puppets have also changed the curricula of schools in the cities and towns under their control. For example, they have added the subjects of philosophy & politics in the school curricula and which only extols the false theories of Marxism.

In response to these challenges, the educational front of Jihad, with very limited resources, has adopted measures to mobilize the Mujahideen and equip them with educational and scientific principles so that they will be imbued with faith, loyalty, patriotism and committed to their freedom and independence.

Prior to the coup of April 1978, about 200,000 people constituted the country's educated and academic strata, of which more than 12,000 have been killed by the blood-thirsty Khalqis and Putschis, while most of the remaining have sought refuge in the Middle East, Europe, and

other countries to escape Russian atrocities of the last ten years.

After the liberation, Afghanistan would be faced with a gigantic task in its reconstruction & rehabilitation programmes, which will be further compounded by the lack of educated, skilled, and trained people.

The return of our skilled and educated strata from America, Europe, and Australia, and their participation in the reconstruction of the country is doubtful. However, a limited number of them would be prepared to come and render service in the reconstruction of their devastated country.

It is also possible that security conditions in the country would not be conducive enough for foreign advisers to come and implement reconstruction projects in various parts of the country.

Therefore, the only practicable solutions to these problems are the training of the academic strata and skilled cadres of Afghanistan by establishing institutes of higher education, particularly vocational (higher than class 12), of two to four years course at university level, for Afghan residents in Pakistan. This will also provide opportunity of education to a large number of those youths who have graduated from high schools in the enemy-controlled cities and have sought refuge due to their unwillingness to join the puppet army.

Similarly, Mujahideen organizations also operate 15 high schools (five by NIFA) in various parts of Pakistan, from which more than 200 students graduate annually. Thus a large number of students who have graduated from schools during the past ten years are ready and willing to attend their higher education.

The total number of high school graduates varies between 12,000 - 15,000 in the NWFP alone. Of these, only a limited number (about 400) have been lucky enough to utilize facilities in Pakistan's educational institutes. Due to financial and other difficulties, these graduates at present cannot be sent to foreign countries for higher education. Although a limited number of them (around 100) have been sent in the past to the Middle East and European countries, but this number is quite small in proportion to the number of deserving graduates and our future needs.

In order to solve the problem of our deprived youths, taking into account the needs of our country either during the present period of Jihad or

13. TAPE BAND 7 (Chekan; 40"): I don't even know how to describe what people are doing. It's obscene. When you've found out for yourself what it's like to fire a gun and have bullets whizzing past you, I don't think you could ever do anything hurtful to any human being again.

14. NARR: This sense that the soldiers felt the uselessness of what they were doing was not lost on their senior officers. Major-General Leonid Shcherashynov summed up the feelings of soldiers who were faced with this dilemma:

15. TAPE BAND 8 (Shcherashynov; 43"): When it came to the moment in a battle when a Soviet soldier would have to kill a bandit, it was often the case that he saw before him a poor, barefoot, half-naked man. This man had been fighting against him either through ignorance or, on the other hand, because he was strengthened by a sense that he was defending his motherland and his way of life. Of course, this made the soldier's actions more difficult and every time made him return to the thought: "What am I doing in Afghanistan?"

16. NARR: This questioning of why they were in Afghanistan is something which has grown in recent years amongst Soviet soldiers. For a long time conscripts were accepting what they had to do and believed that they were genuinely helping the Afghan people. In those days, the decisions of the Soviet government were not questioned. As Viktor Suliwov explains:

17. TAPE BAND 9 (Suliwov; 27"): We believed that we were doing something useful, something humane. We couldn't even imagine then that our government would do anything absurd, that it would do something which would mean the sacrifice of so many Soviet people. We couldn't get such an idea into our heads.

18. NARR: But the more soldiers who suffered in Afghanistan, the more they began to question the rationale behind the political decision to send troops into Afghanistan. Despite his seal, Aleksandr Solzhenitsin is obviously embittered by the experience:

19. TAPE BAND 10 (Solzhenitsin; 18"): I think that the whole thing was someone's crude political mistake. Of course, I'd like to know exactly whose mistake it was. Maybe one day we'll know. Indeed, one man's heroism is often the result of someone else's crass stupidity.

20. NARR: The overwhelming feeling of all those who have been involved in the war in Afghanistan, officers, soldiers and their families, can be summed up in one word -- futility. This was clearly the message of this highly moving film. The feelings of all were reflected by Mr Grishin, whose son Volodya died four years ago in Afghanistan:

21. TAPE BAND 10 (Grishin; 27"): No-one needed this war in Afghanistan. It has simply brought grief to mothers and parents -- not just to parents, but to everyone whose loved ones have served there. We didn't need this useless war. No-one needed it. Let's get our lads out of there as quickly as possible, while those that are left are still alive. Then everyone will be happy.

22. NARR: Meanwhile, Volodya Penchuk knows that he will be one of the last to leave. He tries to calm his mother's fears by his letters:

23. TAPE BAND 12 (Penchuk; 14"): I'll write to mum to calm her, so she doesn't get worried. I'll tell her, as I always do, that everything's fine here, that I'm alive and well. I'll try not to say anything about the fighting. I'll talk about the weather.

24. NARR: But, despite the efforts of Volodya Penchuk and thousands like him, many mothers fear for the safety of their sons. Despite this, Mrs Penchuk tries, through her tears, to put on a brave face:

25. TAPE BAND 13 (Mrs Penchuk; 27"): I knew that he'd carry out his duty to the end. I felt he would. Of course, it's very worrying for me and it'll be hard to live through. But he should fulfil his duty to the end.

26. NARR: Will the Soviet Union use force again to pursue its foreign policy interests? Major General Shcherashynov thinks it unlikely.

27. TAPE BAND 14 (Shcherashynov 25"): I think that, before we try again to resolve an international problem by military means, we'll have to think a hundred times. We'll have to act according to our old Russian saying: "Measure up seven times before you cut your cloth". I think that that's the lesson that we'll remember in 30 years.

in the future phase of reconstruction, it is imperative that institutes at the intermediate and university level are established and put into operation. Specific curricula should be included that will cater to our difficulties, social needs and future reconstruction programmes and which will fully comply with the traditions and principles of Afghan society.

With this aim in mind, in 1984, as Deputy Chairman of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen, after due consultations with my colleagues and encouragement from the respected leader of NIFA, I submitted a plan to the concerned authorities of our host country to provide an opportunity for the operation of a project to be named Free Afghanistan University (F.A.U.). In the preliminary stages (except the title which was changed to Academy of Higher Education for Afghans Refugees) verbal and partial agreement was given to the contents of the plan and the project was welcomed. However, the matter was later postponed for some unknown reasons.

Anyhow, it is once again hoped that the said project will be implemented with some amendments by any one of the assisting agencies in the near future. In accordance with one of the amendments of the projects, the Academy will be shifted to Afghanistan after the liberation of the country. * * *

Until now, due to the presence of Russian troops, it has been impossible to operate high schools in the liberated areas of the country. The enemy would have bombed such large targets and establishments. Hence, we have been able to establish only primary and middle schools inside the country.

So far, around 1200 such schools have been established in the liberated areas of various provinces by the Mujahideen organizations, mostly through the assistance of the Educational Centre for Afghanistan. A number of these schools are also operated by Afghanistan Educational Committee (supported by the Swedish and Norwegian Committees) and the Organization of World Muslim League. The total number of students in these schools exceeds 100,000 and are taught by nearly 400 teachers. * * *

In order to inspect the general conditions of schools inside the country, and to evaluate the educational standards of students, their difficulties and other shortcomings, the Educational Coordination Council of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen entrusted me with the task of leading a delegation to Afghanistan for the first time

The survey was conducted in Kunar province between June 1 and July 7, 1988.

The programme contained surveys of the schools in the valleys of Kamdesh, Nooristan, Asmar, Chaghazai and Pech. All schools were visited, unimpeded by any organizational bias and preferences.

A journey of 800 kilometers was covered on foot in a period of 200 hours. The journey took place through formidable mountainous areas controlled by the Mujahideen and inhabited by the local people. The Russians and their puppet regies are not present, except in the centers of Chaghazai, Watapur and Asmar, which are under the constant shelling of the besieging Mujahideen forces...

The schools visited were mostly operated by the Educational Centre for Afghanistan (ECA). On the other hand, a number of schools sponsored by the Educational Committee for Afghanistan and the World Muslim League were also visited and taken into account.

The main objective of the programme was the inspection of practical development of educational activities in the liberated areas under the present Jihad conditions. The journey enabled us to witness the results of our relentless efforts, and those of our collaborating brother and sympathetic donating agencies, for establishing educational centres, eliminating illiteracy and expanding educational programmes so that a strong front could be established for mobilizing the Mujahid generation of Afghanistan against the poisonous activities of the Russians and their puppets, and for expanding and consolidating Islamic and scientific education throughout Afghanistan.

The problems faced by the schools we visited were lack of proper sites, lack of electricity, non-existence of turnrune, drinking water reservoirs, over-crowding in classes, non-existence of maps & charts, and the high costs of carrying school materials to their remote locations.

These problems, and their possible solutions, have already been presented to the concerned and responsible authorities in the form of a report. * * *

The Front (NIFA)
Vol. 1, #9
Oct., Nov., Dec./1988

ORGANIZATIONS

At the Afghanistan Relief Committee Conference, "Afghanistan in Flux," we learned about the spread of the "coordination virus." Groups formed to coordinate non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) work with Afghans are Cross-border Medical programs (CMC), formed in 1986; Cooperative Committee on Rural Assistance (CORA); Voluntary Agency Groups (VAG) & Coordination Humanitaire Europeene Afghanistan (CHEA) formed in 1983. Then came the Peshawar-based ACBAR (Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief) & SWABAC (Southwest Afghanistan & Baluchistan Coordinating Agency) based in Quetta & a member of ACBAR. 7 of the largest German agencies, out of over 65 existing there, have gotten together to oversee projects & facilitate German Gov't funding. The French have CARD (Center for Aid for Reconstruction & Development) which plans to present a list of projects to the UN & the EEC for possible funding. CARD has the cooperation of the French Gov't. In Britain, there is BAAG (British Agencies Afghan Group). We'll have more information on these & other groups in the next issue.

FROM PESHAWAR: Telephone numbers of some agencies involved in Afghan relief:

Afghan Cultural Assistance Foundation.....	43281
Afghan Female & Children Teaching Hospital.....	40424/42591
Afghan Female Surgical Hospital.....	41682
Afghan Health & Social Assistance Organization.....	4182
Afghan Information Ctr (AIC).....	40953
Afghan Media Resource Ctr (AMRC).....	41693
Afghan Medical Aid (AMA).....	41693
Afghan OD/GYN Hospital Guest House.....	41517
Afghan OD/GYN Hospital.....	40721
Afghan Refugee Humanitarian Islamic Unity.....	41023
Afghan Relief (UK).....	42223
Afghan Scholarship Program.....	41683
Afghan Surgical Hospital.....	41335
Afghan Welfare Ctr.....	41181/8
Afghanaid (UK).....	42030
Afghanistan Education Committee (AEC).....	41247
Afghanistan Hothill-West Germany.....	42591
AFPAHE.....	42320
Agricultural Survey of Afghanistan.....	40827
American Exporters Group (AMEG).....	41299
ARC-ASAR (Assist. to Skilled Afghan Refugees).....	41279
Austrian Relief Committee.....	42584/42592
ATCEN (Afghan Vaccination & Immunization Ctr).....	41156
Bureau International d'Afghanistan.....	43270
Caritas.....	40925
Comm for Afghan Refs--Text Book Board.....	44023
Comm for Afghan Refs--District Administrator.....	50502
Comm for Afghan Refs--Protocol.....	60438
Comm for Afghan Refs--Dep Dir--Public Relations.....	44591
Comm for Afghan Refs--Dep Dir--Public Relations.....	44023
Comm for Afghan Refs--Add Comm for Security.....	61896
Comm for Afghan Refs--Add Comm for Education.....	44023
Comm for Afghan Refs--Add Comm for Refugees.....	61863
Comm for Afghan Refs (CAE)---Comm for Education.....	61821
Coordination of Medical Committees (CMC).....	42300
Danish Committee for Afghan Refugees (DACAARI).....	40731
DCAP.....	42421/40189
Dental Clinic for Afghan Refugees.....	41359
Education Support Section Project (ESSP).....	41315
Epi Health Project Director.....	48243
FAP (Food & Agriculture Organization).....	41399
Free Afghanistan Switzerland.....	42223
Freedom Medicine.....	45005
German Afghanistan Committee (GAC).....	42416/42588
German Afghanistan Foundation.....	43257
GTZ (Govt. Technical Training School).....	42711

Guides Europeennes du Raid.....	42320
Health Education Resource Ctr (HERC).....	41444-41950
Help the Afghans Foundation.....	43914
Help-Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe.....	41530
Human Concern International.....	42524
ICRC Delegation.....	41673/41371/40815
ICRC Hospital.....	40488
ICRC Paraplegic Ctr-Hayatshah.....	50580
ICRC Training Ctr-University Town.....	40330
IMC (International Medical Corps).....	41156
IMC Clinic.....	41512
IMC Residence.....	41755
IMC Training Ctr-Nasir Engh.....	41755
Inter Aid Committee.....	76195
International Information Office (IIIO).....	42223
IRC DCAR (Development Ctr for Afghan Education).....	42421/40189
IRC ELP (English Language Program).....	41560
IRC Handicrafts Project.....	42342
IRC Health Ed. Resource Ctr. (HERC).....	42444-41950
IRC Hsai Hsai.....	40180
IRC Main Office.....	41274/41845/43247
IRC Printing Press.....	47277
Islamic Relief Agency.....	42245/43380
Italian Cooperation for Development (ICD).....	41798
Kuwait Red Crescent.....	42571
Lycee Hsai Hsai.....	41130
Medecins du Monde.....	42320
Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF).....	42320
Medical Refresher Courses for Afghans (MRCNA).....	40968
Medical Training for Afghans (MTA).....	41311/41492
Mercy Fund.....	42405
Muslim Aid for Afghan Refugees.....	42303
Naheed Sheheed School.....	41133
Norwegian Committee for Afghanistan.....	41247/42304
Norwegian Ref. Council & Norwegian Church Aid.....	42304
Ockenden Venture.....	40410
Pak-German Bas-Ed.....	40999
Pakistan Red Crescent.....	40999
Psychiatry Ctr for Afghans.....	65336
Salvation Army.....	42230
Sandy Gall Orthopedics Proj (Lady Reading Hosp).....	40231 Ext. 351
Saudi Red Crescent.....	42707/41480
Save the Children (SCF).....	40311/41170
Sedgwick Akhtar Lycee.....	76759
SERVE Afghan Eye Hospital.....	41093
SERVE.....	41706
Seventh Day Adventist Dental Clinic.....	74439
Shelter Now-ESAR (Engh. Services for Afg Refs).....	42258
Shelter Now International.....	41130
SOS/PG Belgium.....	40839
Swedish Comm Afghanistan Education Comm.....	41247
Swedish Committee for Afghanistan.....	42247/42218/40415
Swedish Comm. Afghanistan Relief Service.....	40417
Swiss Information Office.....	42719
UNICR Chief.....	41017
UNICR Deputy Chief.....	41866
UNICR Education.....	41038
UNICR General Information.....	41037/41039
UNICEF.....	78524/79284
Union Aid for Afghan Refugees.....	41578/9
Union Aid for Afghan Mujahideen Doctors.....	42591
United Med Ctr for Afghan Muj Doctors (UMCHMD).....	42591
World Food Program (WFP).....	41044/42515/40414

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

American Club.....	41321
American Exporters Group (AMEG).....	61239
United States Consulate.....	79801-3
USAID Commodities Program.....	43211-5
USAID.....	43211-5
VITA (Volunteers in Technical Assistance).....	40963/41463
MSH (Management Sciences for Health).....	40752

IF YOU WANT TO GO...

One can now call the US State Dept. for travel advisories on problem areas - such as Afghanistan. On a push-button phone, call 202-647-5225; you will be given instructions on what numbers to push next. On a dial phone, call the same number; you will have to hold on until a real person answers. Dial phoners must call between 8 a.m. & 10 p.m. (Eastern time) on weekdays or from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Saturdays.

Top Afghan University Is Seen Moving Away From Communist Party

By STEVE LE VINE

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

As this war-ravaged country nervously awaits the completion of the Soviet Union's scheduled troop withdrawal in mid-February, Afghanistan's main institution of higher education, Kabul University, is moving away from Communist control.

In recent weeks, the 13-college university appointed four new deans from outside the Communist Party. In all, nine non-Communist deans have been appointed since 1986, when Afghanistan's President Mohammed Najibullah came to power and began, with Soviet prodding, to enact relatively liberal reforms.

Three months ago, Mohammed Naim Ashrafi, a non-Communist economics professor who studied in West Germany, was named vice-chancellor for budget affairs. Now only the university president, Tahir Enayat, and one of four vice-chancellors among the top campus officials are Communist Party members.

Party membership used to be essential for academic advancement here.

But even as a reformist wave sweeps across the university—part of a growing effort by the beleaguered government to make itself more acceptable to the Afghan guerrillas, or mujahedeens, who seem poised for a political takeover—academic leaders are not entirely optimistic about the prospects for further liberalization, and they worry about whether the institution will receive adequate financial support.

Many campus officials say their opportunities to express themselves openly have improved significantly.

"Before, it was very, very difficult to speak with foreigners," remarked Mohammed Arwar Dost, dean of the college of economics. "Now we are speaking very freely with each other."

"Nine years after the revolution," Mr. Dost continued, "we have sent our first professor to West Germany to study economics."

"In one year," he added as the sounds of rockets exploding in the distance could be heard in his university office, "we should have a better situation."

'Now We Can Speak'

Other administrators and faculty members agreed that a shift away

from Communist leadership and party dogma were major changes for the university, but a similar shift in the government itself appears to be mainly symbolic, with important posts still in Communist hands.

In that light, the permanency of the campus reforms cannot be certain.

The point was made clear when university officials generally sought to avoid controversial remarks in an interview with this reporter. One dean who criticized the authorities asked that his name not be used.

Still, non-Communist deans appeared sincere in saying they felt they could express their opinions freely and speak with foreigners—two actions that previously might have subjected them to a visit by the government's secret police.

In the past, said Vadim Safi, dean of law and political science, "we could not listen to the BBC, even in our rooms. Now we can speak."

On the other hand, Mr. Safi said, conflict between the government and its enemies is producing a new sort of inhibition.

"Before there was no ability to speak," he explained. "Now there is no time to speak."

Meanwhile, Mr. Enayat, the president, appealed for international support for his institution.

"We have passed through a difficult period," he said. "After the revolution, West Germany, France, and the United States unilaterally withdrew their affiliation with Kabul University, and we were left to cope with the vacuum ourselves."

"We now urgently need any aid from any country in the world, no matter their social system."

"We ask academic centers to help us, especially to renew the affiliations they once had with us."

Indeed, the government-run university, with 10,500 students, has suffered greatly during the Soviet-backed government's nine-year-old war against the guerrillas.

After the Communist takeover in 1978 and the Soviet invasion in 1979 that propped up the government here, Western countries withdrew virtually all education assistance from Afghanistan. In the process, many international connections were severed. The links had been providing the university with textbooks, journals, laboratory equipment, and visiting professors.

The university's engineering program was shut down completely from 1980 to 1987. Although it has reopened with Soviet aid, it is still forced to rely on many obsolete American textbooks.

Mr. Enayat, who teaches in the engineering school, said he was preparing lectures from a 14-year-old textbook on surveying. "We are in urgent need of textbooks," he said.

At the university's agriculture college, progress in research and instruction has been virtually stopped since the Soviet invasion, according to the dean, Abdul Quhar Samin.

The college was established in 1955 with a staff of two Afghans and 13 Americans from the University of Wyoming, which also provided technical support. The American institution sent teams of educators to Kabul over the next 16 years.

Then the University of Nebraska at Omaha began assigning instructors to the agriculture college. Laboratories were set up, textbooks were purchased, and a building for 200 students was constructed.

In addition, 21 of the college's 47 faculty members received advanced education—and nine Ph.D.'s—at American colleges and universities.

Since the Soviet invasion, aid from the Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies has enabled the college to continue operating—its enrollment has swelled to 1,100—but Kabul officials said it remained technologically backward. Mr. Samin said the college needed American parts for broken and worn-out laboratory equipment.

Meanwhile, the war has taken a heavy toll on Afghan's intellectual leadership, as thousands of bright young Afghans have died or fled the country. Total fatalities in the war have been estimated at about one million.

Said Asif Zahir, the government's Minister for Rural Reconstruction and Development: "In the past 10 years, our youth did not get an education. That's a tremendous loss. The physical damage, that's easy to repair. But to build human beings, that's very hard."

20,000 Study in Soviet Union

In spite of the loss of Western aid, the institution has managed to survive and even to make progress in some areas, mainly with Soviet support.

According to Homayun Kamran, vice-chancellor for cultural and social affairs and a Communist Party member, 20,000 Afghan students are now studying in the Soviet Union, and 80 university lecturers are on year-long assignments there. In the last year, Moscow also has helped Afghanistan establish three universities affiliated with Kabul University, Mr. Kamran said.

previous 33 years. The university's medical college, now an independent institution, is turning out 700 graduates a year, compared with 100 a decade ago, he said.

university graduates had increased dramatically in the last decade, also. Kabul University has produced 11,000 graduates in that period, he said, compared with 21,000 over the

is serving a huge influx of students that is expected to follow the Soviet pull-out.

Mr. Kamran said the number of He identified the new institutions as the University of Balkh Province, the University of Herat Province, and the Islamic Studies Institution in Kabul. The Afghan government ex-

February 1, 1989

The Chronicle of Higher Education

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"The Afghans' Next Ordeal" by Theodore L. Eliot, Jr. in *WORLD MONITOR*, December, 1988. Pp 40-47.

"Waiting for the End" by Edward W. Desmond in *TIME*, 2/6/89. Pp 38-40.

Vol. 7 #2/3, 1988 of *CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY* was devoted to Afghanistan. Articles include "Thirty Years of Afghan History" by Moh'd Akram, "La Løye Jerga: Ses Origines & son Rôle Historique dans l'Evolution de Société Afghane" by S.Q. Reshtia, "La Laïcisation du Droit en Afghanistan" by Kacem Fazelly, "Attitude of the Leadership of Afghan Tribes Towards the Regime from 1953-1978" by Hamed Karzai, "The Origins of the Afghan Communist Party" by Olivier Roy, "Lieux et Formes du Pouvoir en Afghanistan, Hier & Aujourd'hui" by Bernard Dupaigne, "Les Institutions Afghanes: Tradition & Modernisme" by Gilles Rossignol, "Kaboul 1980-1986: Un Islam Officiel pour Légitimer le Pouvoir Communiste" by Chantal Lobato, "Soviet Geostrategic Position in the Southern Tier & the Occupation of Afghanistan" by Milan Hauner, "L'Asie Centrale Soviétique Durant la Période 1956-1986" by Alexandre Bennigsen, "Parallels & Divergences Between the US Experience in Vietnam & the Soviet Experience in Afghanistan" by Anthony Arnold, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan" by Gunter Knabe, "Myth & Reality in Afghan 'Neutralism'" by Louis Dupree, "Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan" by R.E. Aziz, "La Representation de l'Afghanistan aux Nations Unies" by Zalmai Haquani, "The UN in the Afghan Crises" by A.H. Tabibi, "De l'Economie Afghane en 1978 à Quelques Perspectives d'Avenir" by Gilbert Etienne, "Observations & Activités dans le Domaine de la Coopération de la Représentation Française en Afghanistan de 1956 à 1962" by H.J. de Dianoux, "Afghanistan According to Soviet Sources, 1980-1985" by Marie Broxup, "Preserving the Memory of Afghanistan" by Etienne Gille and several tributes to S.B. Majrooh.

OPERATION SALAM NEWS, a bi-monthly publication of the Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian & Economic Assistance Programs for Afghanistan, Villa La Pelouse, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland. The first issue appeared in December, 1988. 8 pp.

MARRIAGE AMONG MUSLIMS - Preference & Choice in Northern Pakistan - by Hastings Donnan, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1988. Xiv, 231 pp., maps, figures & tables. ISBN 90 04 08416 9. \$42.

ASIAN SURVEY, Vol. XXVIII, #11, November 1988 had the following articles: "The New Political Thinking: Gorbachev's Policy Toward Afghanistan & Pakistan" by Ali T. Sheikh & "Lineages of the State in Afghanistan" by Barnett R. Rubin. *Asian Survey* is published by the University of California Press.

ET SI ON PARLAIT DE L'AFGHANISTAN? Terraines & textes 1964-1980 by Pierre Centlivres & Micheline Centlivres-Demont is available from CID, 131, bd. Saint-Michel, 75005 Paris, France. It is #8 in the Recherches & travaux series of the Ethnological Institute in Neuchâtel (Switzerland), 1988. 314 pp., 144 Ff. ISBN 2-88279-001-5.

The following articles appeared in *GLOBAL AFFAIRS*, Vol IV #1, Winter 1988: "Geopolitics: A Framework for Analyzing Soviet Behavior" by Bruce D. Slawter & "Victim of the Great Game: The Tragedy of Pakistan" by Yossef Bodansky.

"Afghan Death March" by William Northacker was in the February issue of *SOLDIER OF FORTUNE*.

"Afghanistan: Policy Suggestions for the Administration of President George Bush & the 101st Congress" was prepared by Henry Kriegel for the *FREE AFGHANISTAN REPORT* for the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Suite 480, Washington, DC 20002, February 1989. 4 pp.

ETHNICITY, NATIONALISM & THE PAKHTUNS: THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN INDIA'S NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1901-1947 by Stephen Rittenberg was published this summer by the Carolina Academic Press.

MOSCOW'S THIRD WORLD STRATEGY by Alvin Z. Rubinstein, Princeton Univ. Press, 1989, contains an analysis of Soviet policy toward Afghanistan.

"Demographic Reporting on Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" by Nancy Dupree in MODERN ASIAN STUDIES 22,4, 1988 published by Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. 845-865.

"Italie- Afghanistan 1921-1941" by May Schinasi in ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE ANNALI, Vol 47, Fascicle 2, Naples, 1987.

In ENCYCLOPEDIA IRANICA, Vol. III, Fascicle 4, under Bāg (garden), the section on Afghanistan (part IV) was written by Nanch Hatch Dupree.

"Afghanistan - THE CROSSROADS" by Maria Elena Llana & Carlos Iglesias in PRISMA, a monthly review of world news, published in Cuba by the Latin American News Agency (21 No. 406, Vedado, La Habana, Cuba), Vol. 6, #67, October 1988. Pp 34-39.

"Target Kabul" by Donatella Lorch in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, February 2, 1989. The article is about Abdul Haq.

AFGHANISTAN INFO, #23, November 1988, published by the Comité Suisse de soutien au peuple Afghan, includes a chronology and articles on the reconstruction of Afghanistan, women, agriculture, medicine & an interview with Shaikh Assef Mohseni of Harakat-e Islami Afghanistan.

"People of Kabul Await a Soviet Withdrawal with Some Anxiety" by Mary Williams Walsh in the WSJ, 1/12/89.

"What was Lost in Afghanistan" by Elaine Sciolino in the NYT Week in Review, 2/5.

"What is 'Afghan lesson' for Superpowers" by David Ottaway in the WASHINGTON POST, 2/12/89.

"The Russians are Going...But their ambitions remain & the US should act to counter them" by Richard C. Hottelet in the CSM. 2/14/89. P. 18.

"Rebel Sights Set on Regime's Ouster" by Edward Girardet in the CSM, 2/15/89. P. 3.

"The Last of the Soviets" in ASIaweek, 2/17/89. Pp. 19-20.

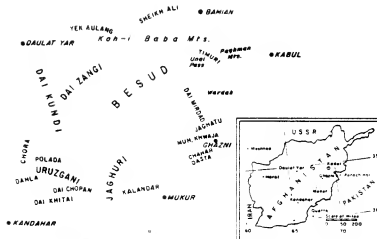
"In Kabul, the talk is of chaos to come" by Marc Kaufman in the Review & Opinion section of the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, 1/22/89. P. 1.

"Who will Win the Bloody Battle for Kabul?" by Selig Harrison in the Outlook Section of the WASHINGTON POST. (There was no date on the copy we received but a French version of the article will appear in the February issue of LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE.)

THE ARCHITECTURE OF AFGHANISTAN by V.N. Karzev, Moscow, Stroyizdat, 1986. "Problems of people's dwellings architecture in different natural & climatic zones of Afghanistan are considered."

BAUEN & WOHNEN AM HINDUKUSH, Aspekte & Probleme traditioneller Bau- & Wohnformen im Gebiet des afghanischen Hindukush, Paul Bucherer-Dietschi, Ed., Bibliotheca Afghanistanica, Liestal, 1988. The only article in English, "Victoriana comes to the Haremserai in Afghanistan," is by Nancy Dupree. \$16 + postage. Paperback, 100 pp.

THE HAZARAS by Hassan Poladi, Mughal Publishing Co. (P.O. Box 7800, 1797 Long Barn Way, Stockton, CA 95207), 1989. 431 pp, illus. ISBN 0-929824-00-8. \$19.95.



DA NAZAR GHASHI, a collection of poems in Pashtu by Rahmatshah Sahel, compiled by the ROA Min. of Frontier Affairs. 2,000 copies printed by Ariana Press, Kabul. 121 pp. BNA 1/25

"How the Good Guys Won in Afghanistan" by Zalmay Khalilzad in THE WASHINGTON POST, 2/12/89. P. C 1.

"The Soviets' Ugly Exit - Do Atrocities in Afghanistan Belie Moscow's PR?" by Rob Schultheis in THE WASHINGTON POST, 1/8/89.

Cont. on p.34

(See pp. 36, 38)

BOOK REVIEWS

PERSIAN LITERATURE (Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies #3), Ehsan Yarshater, Ed., State University of New York Press, 1988. 562 pp.

This volume is conceptually interesting. While it covers literature written in Persian (or its antecedents) chronologically and geographically, it does not attempt to be comprehensive. Rather, its organization stems from a series of lectures given at Columbia University on the theme of Persian literature that have been pooled by the editor to provide an unhomogenized introduction to the subject. The editor also has intended all the articles to deal with imaginative literature. Given this latitude, some subjects have received considerable attention while others have been treated in a cursory manner. There is only one article devoted to the range of the Persian literature of Afghanistan (by Ashraf Ghani) and it leans heavily toward a survey of intellectual trends, rather than analysis of any aspect of the literature.

Of considerable usefulness to those interested in Afghan culture, however, is the large section of articles on the classical period, as well as the masterful introductory essay by Yarshatar on the development of Iranian literatures. Although stating emphatically certain issues that remain in some dispute (Were there a people called the Avestan as opposed to the Gathic? p.5; Was the social & political organization of the Turanians markedly "nomadic" as opposed to that of the Iranians? p. 9), the essay treats matters of style and language lucidly for the benefit of those new to the field of Persian literature.

Twenty-three authors contributed to this work, some like Annemarie Schimmel and Yarshater contributing more than one article. The authors' names appear in the table of contents but not at the start or end of the articles, perhaps to lessen the choppiness. Most of the articles are well edited although a few suffer from careless typing and spelling mistakes. Two useful features of the volume are the index of proper names and cultural terms and the selected bibliography of translations from Persian literature. No translations of Dari material appear in spite of the in-print English language poetry of Kh. Khalili and others.

This volume provides a useful collection of articles by experts, many of whom have published widely on the subjects of their articles presented here. Neither intended to nor capable of replacing standard reference works on Persian and Iranian literature such as [Iranian Literature](#), edited by Jan Rypka, and E.G. Brown's [A History of Persian Literature](#), this volume is a useful supplement, particularly on the subject of the modern Persian literature of Iran.

Eden Naby
Brimfield, Massachusetts

KNT 12/25 “Constructive Laughter”

The Journalists' Union of the Republic of Afghanistan has recently brought out "Constructive Laughting" written by Dr. Assadullaev and Kazim Abang and is now available in bookstalls. The authors of this book are both well-known journalists and give a profound analysis of these interesting genes in journalism.

Barq Shafiee, Chairman of the Journalists' Union of RA has written a preface to the book that says in part: "This genre 'satire' has been on usage in the Afghan print media since long and we can cite various forms of this genre. So far the systematic and scientific study of this genre and researches on this



subject have not been made. This is the time of great pleasure that now we have the privileges and abilities to have access forward to the journalists a book under the title of "Constructive Laughing" that embraces two satirical genre namely feuilleton and pamphlete."

In the first chapter of the book, the authors describe the world satire and its role in the development of the Arabic literary and classical literature of Rome and the classical literature of Darsi and works of Rodaki, Ferdousi, Saadi, Nizami and Khayyami and Zakani in particular. In the proceeding chapters principles of typification of the world satire, the feuilleton and its satirical and literary aspects and the fact that the satirical literature has been published in the Afghan press for the first time in Serajul Akhbar in Afghanistan in 1926 are described in the forms of feuilleton and pamphlets are widely described. Vienna Marx and the world satire in the book as the "first

feuilletonist of Afghanistan". He used to "unveil the repression and restrain the power that was based on the journalistic works, through his feuilletons. He also criticized the negative elements of the society and its satirical writings."

"Be Prompt towards salvation" was the first article of the world satire in Tarzi depicted political and social shortcoming of the time. Later he wrote "The Great Master of the Tasshyar" his another feuilleton in Serajul Akhbar both having political and social issues and reduces local elements but also foreign issues and figures. The author writes "The author of the work openly showed

and devilishes of the society and criticized the anti-social acts."

After the feuilletons of Tarzi's era, the book *Feuilletons* by the famous Soviet journalist Kogakov, published by Pravda, in the conclusion of the book to the authors limits to the journalists how to write feuilletons (By Z. Nazban).

Presented to the court of the Mujtazim and panch-gifts. He depicted the involvement of the police time in robberies and corruption under the sa-
the Mujtazim of his feuilleton. The book was the story of Mahoddin Anis who was pulled towards for publishing a book about the first feuilleton and panch-gifts and print media especially the first feuilletons that were published

LETTERS

To the Editor:

I am writing to comment, I hope for publication in the Afghanistan Forum, on Prof. Nake Kamrany's review in the January, 1989 issue of Abdul Samad Ghaus's book, "The Fall of Afghanistan." In particular, I want to express a few thoughts about Mohammad Daoud, whom I came to know quite well while I was US Ambassador to Afghanistan from November, 1973 to June 1978.

There is certainly much negative that can be said about Daoud. He was an ambitious and ruthless dictator. As time went on, he increasingly disregarded the counsel of wise men and restricted his inner circle mostly to sycophants, a failing common to dictators. He was incredibly naive about the Soviet Union, perhaps even to the end of his life, although there is evidence, well presented by Mr. Ghaus, that he was becoming better aware of Soviet designs in the last couple of years. Prompted no doubt by some of the Communists who accompanied him into power in 1973, he was highly suspicious of the United States, but I would not say that he was anti-American.

One anecdote will illustrate more than one of the foregoing points. In one of my first conversations with him in late 1973, he mentioned with some passion his unhappiness at being called the "Red Prince" by the New York Times when he approved the Soviets' constructing the Salang road. He vigorously asserted that he would never permit Soviet tanks to come down that road.

As Mr. Ghaus details, as time went on after his coup of July, 1973, he weeded Communists out of his inner circle, sought alternatives to Soviet assistance, both economic and military, from other countries, and entered into a dialogue with Pakistan on the "Pushtunistan" issue. All of these moves indicated that he was trying to distance himself a bit from the Soviets. Arguably, it was too late. Bringing the Soviets into the Afghan military in the 1950s proved to be a fatal mistake as American diplomats like Leon Poullada and Armin Meyer warned at that time. And Daoud's own ruthlessness deserted him when he failed to dispose of Taraki, Babrak and Amin when he had them arrested in April, 1978.

So I agree with Prof. Kamrany that Daoud "went for broke and lost in the superpower game." (I would not say the same about Naim whose influence on his brother was sharply reduced in 1977-78.) But I also agree with Louis Dupree who, in the epilogue of the 1973 edition of his book, "Afghanistan," states that "Daoud Khan is neither pro-Russian, pro-Chinese, nor pro-American: he is vigorously pro-Afghan."

Daoud deserves a biography. Will Prof. Dupree, Prof. Kamrany or someone else undertake it?

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Sonoma, California

RECENT PUBLICATIONS - cont. from p. 32

"A Remarkable Realism on Afghanistan - Gorbachev Saw the Futility, We Should See the Opportunity" by Graham Allison in the LOS ANGELES TIMES, 2/17/89.

Michael Dobbs wrote two articles for THE WASHINGTON POST: "Afghan Pullout Marks Historic Reversal for Soviets" (2/13/89) & "In Service of the Motherland - Soviet Society Bears Wounds of Afghan War" (2/14/89).

"Enemies amid America's Afghans" by Richard Mackenzie in INSIGHT, 1/23/89. Several people linked to the ROA have settled in the US & their residency upsets some.

An Afghan woman whose father was a beloved leader before the invasion now lives in Maryland. Like the others, she is aghast at some of those coming to America. "There is an Afghan poem," she says. "It reads, 'Whatever type of clothes you wear, I'll know you from your walk.'"

THE KABUL TIMES

Ten more projects approved in private sector

The permanent commission of the council of ministers on domestic and foreign investments recently held a meeting under the chairmanship of Sayed Amanuddin Amin, Deputy Prime Minister and president of the economic consultative council.

To further enhance the role of private entrepreneurs the commission approved ten private projects with an initial capital of Afs. 180 million and working capital of Afs. 412 million. The projects are as follows:

— **Fabric plastic production project:**
This project will be established with an initial capital of Afs. 40 million and working capital of Afs. 90 million at Industrial estate.
Its annual production will be 18 thousand sets

of 52 pieces of plastic dishes. The project will also provide job opportunity for 70 persons.

— **Herat, Shinasi, Sayeq and Iba Yamin construction projects:**

These four projects will be established in Herat, Balkh, Ghazni and Jauzjan provinces with initial capitals of 19, 21, 20 and 16 million Afs and final capitals of Afs. 39, 41, 40 and 36 million respectively. Each one of these projects will have an annual production capacity of 26, 30, 30 and 25 thousand cubic metres. These projects will also provide job opportunity for 36 permanent and 300 temporary workers.

— **Mazar metal project:**

This project will start functioning in Mazar-i-Sharif city with an initial capital of Afs. five million and working capital of Afs. seven million. Its annual production capacity will be 400 chairs, 400 tables, 84 doors, 150 cupboards and metal works at a cost of Afs. four million. The project will provide employment for 20 persons.

Ahmad Hadi auto-cloves producing project:

The project will start functioning with an initial capital of more than Afs. eleven million and working capital of Afs. 30 million. This project will be set up in Puli-Charkhi industrial estate. The annual production of this project will be 20

thousand pressure cookers and will provide employment for 23 persons.

Argawan socks knitting project:

This project will be set up with an initial capital of Afs. 12 million and working capital of Afs. 23 million in Puli-Charkhi industrial estate. The annual production capacity of the project will be 300 thousand pairs of socks and will provide job for 20 people.

Fruit Packing and processing project:

This project will be set up in the industrial estate with an initial capital of Afs. six million and working capital of more than ten million. The project will be processing annually 1000 tons of dry fruit, produce bags of different sizes for packing of dry fruits and 2000

cans. With the establishment of this project work opportunity will be provided for 15 persons.

Mojtaba bakery:

This project will be set up with an initial capital of Afs. six million and working capital of Afs. ten million in the Industrial estate. Its annual production will be 200 tons biscuits and 80 tons of pastries. It will provide work opportunity for 15 persons.

Furthermore the commission approved the procedure on attracting the entrepreneurs for the restoration of barren lands which was proposed by the Agriculture and Land Reforms Ministry. Also the commission discussed the proposals of entrepreneurs and necessary decisions were taken to the effect.

(By our reporter Farooq)
DECEMBER 13, 1988

Payam, mouth-piece of party ideas

Hailing the 24th founding anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the first issue of the daily 'Payam' publication of the Central Committee of the PDPA appeared yesterday in four pages with a beautiful format with Barq Shafie, member of the Central Committee of the PDPA as its editor-in-chief.



Barq Shafie

Payam which succeeds Haqiqat-Enqlab-i-Saur and other preceding Party Organs will depict, in conditions of national accord, the efforts for termination of the war, creation of a broad-based government, the solution of all the existing conflicts in the country through political dialogue and political pluralism.

Payam's publication of the Central Committee of the party is bound to give a strong impetus to the country's progressive movement. Payam which liberally means "message" should certainly discharge its task, that is the message of peace, progress, humanism, internationalism.

1/1
embody progressive ideas of the "Payam" of peace, freedom, progress, social justice and progress.

New aspects in Afghan-Soviet economic cooperation

Since March 27, industrial units have been built in the Afghan private sector with an easy-term Soviet credit. This 50-million-ruble credit will go to build another 15 units, expected to improve the economy, writes G. Yezhov, candidate of economics.

Mutually beneficial contacts with Afghan entrepreneurs highlight a new turn in our economic relations, which is dictated by the national reconciliation policy. One of its aims is to reinvigorate the private and mixed economic sectors. In April 1987, intergovernmental documents were signed in Kabul to more deeply involve the private sector in the Afghan-Soviet cooperation. For the first time agreement was reached on building projects for the private sector with Soviet credits and technological assistance. Under the agreement, the Soviet organisations carry out design and prospecting, supply the equipment,

ent, metals and spares, and help with assembly and adjustment work.

The trade pattern has also been updated. Visiting Kabul last January, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said, "We are maintaining good trade with Afghan merchants."

Opportunities are open for its rapid expansion. They are intensively being tapped in frontier trade, which is developing dynamically form 5.5 million rubles in 1987 to over 27 million in the first nine months of this year. Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia have the greatest share in it, supplying construction materials, equipment, foods, utensils, fabrics, etc.

Showing a comprehensive approach to trade and economic contacts with Afghanistan, the Soviet Union expands aid to its public sector. In recent years, two motor tools have been put into operation and the first-ever fundry opened at

the Jangalak Factory in Kabul. The major Puli-Khumri-2 hydro for the northern Afghan industry and Duranta power plant near Jalalabad have been built. In early 1987, the Soviet-assisted plants generated nearly two thirds of the country's electricity.

Agriculture is a major cooperation area. Last February a big contract was signed on technical assistance in building the Kokcha cotton-growing state farm in Afghanistan. By 1990 it will develop 2,000 hectares of irrigated land and build production facilities for construction workers and operators, as well as a livestock farming unit. The farm will produce 50,000 tons of fine-fibre cotton, or as much as the entire country does today.

Space club membership opens up broad prospects for Afghan economic development. During the joint Afghan-Soviet space flight detailed photos of Afghan territory were

taken for geological survey and siting of industries, hydrotechnical structures and communication.

The friendly Afghan-Soviet cooperation is entering a new phase. Relying on the beneficial new political thinking, it is shedding the earlier biased stereotypes and becoming more open to the realities. Peaceful settlement must now rely on a solid economic and social basis, and interests of the broad population segments must be taken into account. This is reflected in the long-term program for economic, technical and trade cooperation for the period up to the year 2000, which was signed in Moscow in September. In this program problems of the public and private sectors are taken into account at this high level for the first time. The new forms and content, with which we enrich our cooperation, are an earnest of its further development. (APN)

— DECEMBER 7, 1988

Self-sufficiency in medicine production

The Pharmaceutical Department has produced, during the last six months, medicines of different kinds with a total cost of \$411,577.00. Afghanistan. Also, in the same period, the department has exported drugs and medical equipment to foreign companies with a cost of 486,761.77 Afghania. The figures show an increase of 15.84 percent in production and 43.93 percent in export comparing the plans of last two years.

Mohammad Hassan Forutan, commercial deputy of the department said to KTI correspondent "The Pharmaceutical Department this year has given the permission of import of medicine and medical tools costing \$272,220 US dollars to the national traders of the private sector.

During the past eight months, the department has sold medicine and medical equipments worth a total cost of \$272,220 Afghania. Import of the department and the activities of the whole-sale suppliers meet the 75 percent need of the citizens of the capital.

Our compatriots obtain their medicine from 97 state drugstores in different parts of the country of which 37 of them are functioning in the capital. Recently the department opened a new drugstore in Sari Pul province to meet the need of the people.

Forutan went on to say: "The department manufactures numerous varieties of pills, capsules, syrups, compound medicines, alcohol of 73 percent, strychn-ampulla, Benzalkonium Chloride solution, tincture, distilled water, Pommarie, sherbats, Anti-Rabies vaccines and other drugs according to international standards. The products of the department can compete foreign drugs in quality. Furthermore, the price of the products are lower than in the imported medicine.

At present the laboratories of the Pharmaceutical Department, Hoechst Corporation and Sediqi Medical Manufacturing Private Laboratories, are producing different medicines in our country. The laboratories of the department can produce 122 kinds of Hoechst corporation, 91 kinds and Sediqi laboratories 36 kinds of different medicines. All raw materials except raisins

and energy is imported from abroad but the Hoechst Corporation obtains its raw material from Hoechst Company in Federal Republic of Germany.

This department has new plans for the improvement and growth of its production. It will install a new manufacturing unit of syrups in the near future. The new units will increase the production of the laboratories. Also the development projects of the capsules, ampules and syrup manufacturing sections are underway.

The Pharmaceutical Department now imports medicines from foreign companies due to the quality and price level and contracts have been made with Bulgaria and Indian companies such as Ranbaxy and Unichem for buying the technology of the manufacture of medicine.

The Pharmaceutical Department was set up in 1954 with an initial capital of 30 million Afghania under the Ministry of Public Health. It has improved in many respects since the time of its establishment. The 1978's capacity of the department

with its present capacity show an increase of 290.70 in production 374.82 in importing and 213.92 percent in sales.

At present 319 persons are working in the department as professional workers and employees. The department has also tried to train professional cadres. It sends out three persons abroad each year in order to upgrade their skills in foreign countries. He concluded.

Karimullah, a pharmacist of the manufacturing laboratories of the department said: "I am working in the section for manufacturing solutions and syrups. Our section produces syrups and sends it to the hospitals in both the capital and provinces of the country. We are trying to accomplish outstanding service to our compatriots particularly under conditions that the imposed war is producing turmoil to our people.

We promise our compatriots that we will increase to a substantial extent our productions under peaceful and tranquil conditions.

We, the pharmacists and physicians who are living abroad to return to their native home

land in the light of the policy of national reconciliation and the facilities that are provided by the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and take part together with us for the better medical service to our long suffered people.

I fully support proposals of esteemed President Najibullah for the demilitarisation and neutrality of Afghanistan and proposals of esteemed Mirshah Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that were stated in the 43rd session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

(By: Nahid)

12/22

Council of Ministers

Presided over by Prime Minister Dr. Mohammad Hassan Sharq, a session of the Council of Ministers was held yesterday. After hearing the report of the assigned commission, the session approved the agreements made by the government within the socio-economic development plan for HS 1368.

The Council of Ministers

In brief		PRISMA 10/88
Official name:	Democratic Republic of Afghanistan	
Area:	648,000 sq km	
Population:	12,300,000 (1987)	
Capital:	Kabul	
Major cities:	Kandahar, Mazar-Sharif	
Official languages:	Pashto and Persian	
Others:	Uzbek, Turkmen, Tajik	
Ethnic groups:	99.9% Pashto, 0.1% minority	
Religion:	99% (all Muslims)	
Government:	Islamic (Shari'ah, Iran, Soviet, Chinese (East and West) and China (northwest).	
National days:	August 27 (Independence from Britain 1919)	
Parties:	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Revolutionary Organisation of Afghan Workers (all parties in government)	
Currency:	Afghani	
GDP figures:	4.75 percent (1970-1981)	
Exports:	Foodstuffs, fruits, wheat, oilseeds, textiles and carpets	
Imports:	Foodstuffs, fuels, fertilizers, basic goods, vehicles	
Main trading partners:	Soviet Union, Pakistan, India, West Germany, Hong Kong and Japan	
Diplomatic relations:	85 countries	
Memberships:	Non-Aligned Movement (1961), Islamic Conference and Group of 77	

Views on a comprehensive dialogue

International news agencies report that only the positions held by some extremist groups of the opposition are creating barriers on the way to a major role, former chief of Afghanistan, Mohammad Zahir is to play in the peaceful and political settlement of the issues around Afghanistan. Some extremist groups are opposing his return back to Kabul.

In its report on the Rome talks, the BBC says that the former chief of Afghanistan has recently demanded the holding of a broad and traditional Jirgah for decision making on the future of Afghanistan and the forming of a broad-based government with the participation of the leaders of all political forces.

According to other reports during the Rome talks, a number of political and social personalities expressed their views on the political settlement of the Afghan question, the excerpts of which are presented hereunder.

Ustad Ashraf Ghani, a professor of a university of the United States says that it was the former government of Pakistan who chose up leaders of the opposition forces in Peshawar and rendered to them all aid not for the God's sake. At least Pakistan wants something to power by those political forces in Afghanistan that can safeguard and support the interests of the Pak regime.

He went on to say that the ideas and views of the Pak government on the issues around Afghanistan could not be acceptable to the Afghan people. We don't want Afghanistan to be a colony of Islamabad.

Hanan Wulosem, editor-in-chief of a paper of the opposition in Norway stated that the holding of a all-embracing Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly) backed by people of Afghanistan can pave the grounds for the peaceful and political settlement of Afghan question.

Sabahuddin Kushkaki says that all issues that could aggravate the disputes should be put aside

and concentration be made on a temporary and transforming government.

The former editor-in-chief of Roggar newspaper, Mohammad Yusuf Farand in an interview said in Los Angeles that peace can be achieved only when a broad-based government is formed with the allround support of the Afghan people. War, he said, Afghanistan may stop if comprehensive steps and measures are undertaken before the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

He believes that forming of a broad-based government supported by the people of Afghanistan and all residing tribes and nationalities, can bring peace to this country. Under such a government, the people of Afghanistan will work for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of their country.

He added that now when the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States have reached a mutual understanding, the settlement of the issues in Afghanistan will be achieved and Afghan people can be saved from clutch, war and bloodshed.

1. 26 (B/A)

also decided that the Ministry of Interior ought to tentatively install 1,000 sets of taxi-meters in taxis in Kabul city.

It also studied the proposals of Kabu Municipality concerning the acquisition of lands needed for building Miyar-ayon residential settlements, distribution of plots of land to those whose lands are acquired and the sale of lands of commercial areas.

The session continued after discussion, the draft amendments to Article 12 of the law on tax of state credentials and administrative documents and the tax on state tariffs in the country's accounts.

DECEMBER 7, 1988

Reshtia, famous historian denounces Rabbani

Sayed Qasim Reshtia, a famous historian of the country who now lives in the alien soil, called as impracticable and refutable the so-called interim government idea of Mujahideen advanced by the Seven-Party-Alliance. In an interview granted to Pashtow services of the radio BBC broadcast last night.

He also, criticized Burhanuddin Rabbani's assertions that Mohammad Zahir, former chief of Afghanistan could not play a role in the peace process as shapping the future of Afghanistan.

He has proposed convening of a Loya Jirgah

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(the grand assembly) as an emergency case for solving the tension in Afghanistan. It was pointed earlier by a great number of the country's political figures.

Education process in full swing

The first upgrading course for graduates of the secondary schools of some provinces who want to continue their studies in the universities of the country has been inaugurated in the Kabul University.

At present from the Badakhshan, Faryab, Baghlan, Kunduz, Parwan and Kapisa provinces 55 graduates are enrolled in the course who will pass the entrance examination for universities. The students are being taught by nine qualified lecturers of the Kabul University.

Dr. Aminullah Qayum, president of the higher education of the Ministry of Vocational and Higher Education said to a KT correspondent: "With the exception of Nangarhar, Herat, Balikh and Jawlan provinces, graduates of the rest of the provinces of the country are already asked to come to the capital and join the course. As per the decision of the Council of Ministers and the Republic of Afghanistan six million Afghans have been put aside for the lodging of the above mentioned students.

Statistics of the Ministry of Education and the education departments of the provinces of the country indicate that at over 700 graduates of the provincial lycées expressed desire for attending universities, but due to some problems and the need of some graduates for employment and work, only 500 graduates will travel to Kabul and join our course.

Since the academic year of some of the provincial lycées ended by the beginning of the current month, it is expected that the graduates will come to the capital by 19th of January. But we provided for the entrance examination already have come, all facilities including lodging.

The lessons start at 9 a.m. and continue after the entrance examination till 2 p.m. The present course will continue until Feb. 22, 1969 and they will undergo the entrance examination along with the other students later.

The third round of the entrance examination held on January 5 in which took part 1100 graduates of the vocational lycées and evening schools, re-

ligious madrasahs and candidates for evening faculties.

Dr. Aminullah Qayum singled out the entrance exam of this year and went on to say: "Entrance Exams of this year were distinctive in all respects. In the first, and



Ahmad Jawid

second rounds of the exams, more than 3700 students take part. As per the resolution of the Council of Ministers, the quota system that allowed some graduates to enter universities without passing the entrance exam has been removed. The board of entrance examinations of the universities are gladdened and satisfied with the new regulation.

The results of the exams will be announced by March 20th, at the conclusion of all rounds of the exams.

As a lecturer and as a worker of the Education with excellent records in the country, I consider peace and security useful and vital for the normal flow of the education and training of qualified cadres. I fully support proposals of President Najibullah and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on a just and peaceful settlement of the issues around Afghanistan and call the talks of Yuli Vorontsov, Soviet ambassador in Kabul with the opposition representatives in Iran and Pakistan as useful and effective step and a new stage for achieving a durable peace in our country."

Ahmad Jawid, a graduate of the Alst Qasid Farzian Lycée said in an interview to a KT correspondent: "Last year the graduates of the provincial lycées were admitted to the universities without passing the entrance exam with the standard of the average of their marks in the last

three years of secondary period. I think that was not a suitable and meticulous method. One can distinguish an open difference between the exams of this year and the previous years. Due to the decisions of the government, the education department of the Jawlan province send us to the capital by plane. I will pass the exam in the last round and now I attended the upgrading course which will undoubtedly help us to have a high preparedness for the exams. The KU provided us with lodging. Beside studying in the present course, the students who came from different provinces exchange experiences with each other. We also use library of the Kabul University. According to me, the entrance examination of the universities is the only touchstone for distinguishing talents and analysed."

All the youth of the country are struggling for peace and tranquility in our common home for under peaceful conditions we can continue our studies very well.

JAN. 7 (Kabul)

"Economic achievements"

It is ten years that the flames of war have been fanning up in our ancient country Afghanistan, the bloody and erosive war which has been imposed on our country and people by the reaction and imperialism. It should be admitted that this war has inflicted a lot of damages and losses on our society and particularly on the developing economy of our country.

During this year, in addition to making our youth, this working force of the country, martyred, disabled and wounded, has turned out a lot of agricultural and fruit-bearing lands to deserts and barren lands. Likewise, this war has made a great number of the productive institutions of our country out of operation, thus imposing a lot of damages on our beloved country. It is for this reason that the people of Afghanistan now are determined to wage war and war mongers call for immediate cessation of this in our country.

Having perceived the adverse effects of war, the state of the Republic of Afghanistan proclaimed the policy of national

reconciliation twenty years ago in a bid to prevent further destructions, and social and economic damages and to rehabilitate the country. The state made the policy of national reconciliation its firm basis of its activities serving the cause of people at interest of the homeland.

The main purpose is to bring peace and tranquility in the country with the realization of the humanitarian policy of national reconciliation and to put off the burning flames of the war as a whole so as our fellow countrymen could start doing constructive work in various aspects of our life in an atmosphere of peace and friendship and to begin and continue with the development of the economy of the country.

Despite the continuation of war and destructions, the past two years have been the most improved specific gains for the people of Afghanistan particularly in the economic area. In this period new economic channels and systems have been established in the country and efforts have been made to uti-

lize the possibilities of all economic systems and sectors with the main object to increase the production of commodities needed by the public. Further dynamism was achieved by working with national entrepreneurs, craftsmen and national traders.

During the two years of the realization of the policy of national reconciliation, the first conference of national entrepreneurs, the congress of craftsmen and the nationwide conference of national traders were held. The Economic Consultative Council was set up as a special self-administrative organ of the activities of private sector and as a body linking the economic policy of the state with the activities of the state in all economic areas.

During the last two years (from late 1965 to the close of Sunbula 1367) the number of projects approved in the private sector reached 338 of which 86 projects have been established with a final capital of 1.12 billion Afghani. Only in the first half of 1367 a total number of 83 projects with a total capital of 365 billion Afghani were approved. The projects approved in the first half of the current Afghan year, that is

the second year of the realization of the policy of national reconciliation, have increased quantitatively three folds and from the point of view of final capital 30 times compared with the first year of the revolution, 1357.

During this period 50 legal and normative documents have been published and enforced in the country for the purpose of consolidating the legal and economic state relations with private investors. The sale of a number of categories of the state employees and workers has been raised and grounds have been of essential commodities to personnel of the armed forces at very low prices through military commodity outlets. Similar coupon materials have been distributed to a number of family members of martyrs of the revolution, disabled, handicapped and retired employees.

In 1366 the state of the Republic of Afghanistan paid keen attention to the purchase of wheat from inside the country and this way bought a total amount of 187,000 tons wheat. This figure is recorded for the first time in the history of the country. Another state of the policy of national reconciliation in the economic field

is the establishment of direct cooperation between the provinces of the Republic of Afghanistan and 12 republics and 18 provinces of the Soviet Union. Likewise, during this period with the conclusion of long term economic and technical cooperation agreements between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union until 2000, new pages have been opened in the Afghan-Soviet friendship book.

In order to help the private sector in Afghanistan, the Republic of Afghanistan has provided the Republic of Afghanistan with a 50-million rouble credit equivalent to 76 million dollars under easy terms. With this credit 171 private-mixed projects will be financed in the country.

In addition to this, the economic and technical cooperations of other friendly countries have been attracted towards the Republic of Afghanistan during this period.

The United Nations Organisation has worked out great humanistic projects for the rehabilitation of Afghanistan which will amount to two billion dollars included in this amount is 8600 million Soviet assistance to Afghanistan.

The state of the Repub-

lic of Afghanistan has undertaken a series of useful activities during the years of realization of the policy of national reconciliation to serve those compatriots who return home from abroad for example the state has transferred 18 million Afghani to meet only the transportation charges of repatriates.

It should be said that they are not all but some economic activities carried out during the two years of the realization of the policy of national reconciliation. All these successes are scored by our people not under normal but war conditions, amidst suffocating smoke and fire. Had there not been the cursed imposed war the number of these gains would have been far greater today indeed.

We believe that simultaneously with the full realization of the policy of national reconciliation war will be ended and a nationwide peace ensured in our country through the realization of the humanitarian policy of national reconciliation and implementation of the recent constructive proposals of the Republic of Afghanistan and grounds will be prepared for useful and peaceful work in all fields of life including economic area.

The people of the Republic of Afghanistan are very much tired of war. More shining horizons are opening in all aspects of our life particularly in economic area.

(Tawags)

"In order to laugh and learn"

"Shir Agha and Shirin Gul", is the name of the first Afghan TV serial round that will soon be screened through TV sets all over the country. The serial with its economic theme consists of 26 parts, 23 parts of which are already made shots in Kabul. Outstanding actors are starring in the comic serial which is directed by Alisha Jalal. Script of the film is written by Wahid Samadzi, Haroon Yusufi, Sarwar Anwari and Najib Sakib and Haji Mohammad Kamran, Hamida Abdullah, Murtaza Baqera, Huma Mustamand, F. Eladi, Mashal Hunayry, Mohammad Isa, Hakim Atrafi and Khurshid are among the leading personalities.

Besides artists of the Radio-Television of Afghanistan, the educational and training Radio and Television also takes an active part in the production of the new serial. Dr. Qasimyar is the production manager, Latif Rasuli, producer, Nematullah Hamid, assistant producer, Abdul Rasool Majidi, technical director and Ahmad Zia Ulmi, Danishyar and Ghulam Rahman are cameramen of the serial. Haji Mohammad Kamran, the famous comic is appearing as the hero Shir Agha and Hamida Abdullah as heroin Shirin Gul.

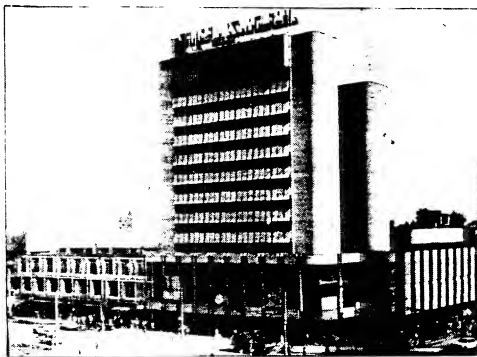
Comedy and instructive elements intermingled in the film as a source of the Educational and Training Radio and TV said. The serial depicts family and social life of the Afghan society and medical instruction such as child and mother health, immunity of the children's against severe diseases of the childhood, vaccination on due time and environment hygiene and sanitary science. The serial helps fa-

milies to improve their health. The serial is produced with the financial aid of the UNICEF and will be dubbed in foreign languages also and will be screened by UNICEF in the developing nations of the South-East Asia.

The coloured serial embraces a lot to attract and each part is lasted 25-30 minutes and all parts of serial will be screened in a six months period.

Answering another qu-

estion the source added: "The Educational and Training Radio and Television is active under the Ministry of Information and Culture. Popular Science, Health for All, Literacy and Instructive Points are among the important and regular programmes of the Educational and Training Radio and Television trying to give most useful instructions to children, school pupils, teachers and illiterate persons. (By: Z. Rasban)



Amir fourteen storied building in the capital.

192 books published by KU Printing Press

The Printing Department of the Kabul University has always published books, supplements of readings, pamphlets, lectures, notes, scientific magazines and other teaching material, since its establishment.

From the above mentioned number, 19 books belonged to the Faculty of Literature, 16 to the Natural Science, 22 to the Pharmacy, 14 to the Geology, 21 to the History and Philosophy and 7 books to the Journalism and Education faculties.

Besides the teaching material, the Kabul University has also published literary books of general use. The day for which the April revolution born, "we have to learn from Fardausi" in the birth place of the

Sun", "With the violets of the rain", "In the red lanes of the twilight" and "The roughcast of the axe" all collections and anthologies of poems by the professors of the Kabul University and the biography of Mla Faqirullah Jalalabadi by Ustad Habibi "Moonish face" a novel by Rahat Zakhili, "Kari Marx" and "Lolotary" by the mirror of the April revolution are the name of priceless books published by the printing section of the KU. The Party Committee, and Cultural Council of the KU held the major part in the printing of such books.

The Printing Department of the KU has published recently the following books: "Khushal Khan Khatak" in two volumes in Dari and English, "Hutakian", "Descriptive bibliography". "An

index of the scientific works and monographs", "List of the books published by the KU" in two volumes in Dari and English and "The new International Economic Order".

In order to provide more facilities to students and wiping of the old and systematic writing notes, the Kabul University has published 1712 lecture notes with a total circulation of 364769 copies since 1978.

Hamid Rashid, head of the Printing Department of the KU said: "We have published the text books for different faculties of the KU after they were compiled and written by the professors and lecturers. The books should be checked and signed by the scientific councils of the respective faculties and the scientific and methodological council of the Min-

istry of the Vocational and Higher Education.

The Printing Department publishes books in the up-to-date systems of printing with the collaboration of the Higher and Vocational Education Ministry in Dari and English, they are distributed to the faculties and libraries of the Kabul University.

He added: "Guide to the Laboratory of the Plants' diseases", plant Morphology and "The chemical control of the useless grass" of the Faculty of Agriculture, "Geometry in three volumes" of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, "Methodology and history of the Geography" of the Faculty and "The cattle breeding" of the Faculty of Veterinary sciences are all at present under print.

"The Science" is the book of the Kabul University that carry scientific and researches of the teaching staff of the KU.

(By: Nafas)

A pastoral society

▼ Afghanistan is an underdeveloped country classified among the poorest in the world. It possesses no huge natural resources. Its main source of wealth, coal, comes from 13 mines in the centre of the country.

Most of the minerals have been discovered near the Soviet border to the north but the latter is still not fully exploited.

Afghanistan's gross national product in 1985 rose to US\$ 3,500 million based mainly on agriculture, mining and nascent industries.

The production and trade balance with US\$ 636 million in exports and US\$ 1,250 million in imports which led to a public debt of US\$ 1,343 million.

Exports have grown by less than 20 percent in recent years compared to imports by over 25 percent.

Eighty-five percent of the population works in agriculture - wheat, maize, rice and seedlings, stock raising or related industries. This represents half the GNP.

Agriculture is influenced by the geographic conditions, dry climate and feudal relations. Thus, arable land which is limited to one in every ten sq km is only a quarter exploited.

To try to overcome these problems agrarian reform was high on the 1978 revolution's agenda. But only in the second stage was a realistic approach taken. In 1984 the government distributed 321,000 land titles to peasants and confiscated 700,000 hectares from big landowners for 637 rural councils. At the same time, cooperatives were given a boost so that by 1987 there were 321 with a total of 85,000 members. These received aid from 14 stations engaged in developing mechanisation.

Afghanistan has 25 million head of stock including sheep, goats and other animals. Export of hides and other by-products is high.

Industrial development has been obstructed by the frequent attacks on factories and plants causing millions in losses.

Some 79 factories have been built since 1978 and a further 209 are underway, industrial investment for 1985-86 was US\$ 150 million.

Despite the efforts of the last decade there is still much to be done in improving health, education, science and technology.

There were no health care programmes before April 1978. Expenditure in this field has quadrupled since then but people still suffer from curable diseases such as malaria, the plague, cholera, tuberculosis and other diseases.

Disease and war have brought life expectancy down below 40 years. Some 245 babies per 1,000 die before their first birthday.

PDPA health programmes have increased the number of hospital beds per 1,000 to 6.6 while the number of doctors has risen 45 percent. In 1985 alone 400,000 patients were treated at health centres.

In the same year 60,000 children were immunised in a major campaign to eradicate some of the most infectious diseases.

Women's and youth brigades have toured Afghanistan offering free medical and paramedical assistance.

Education is another priority area for the Afghan government. The programme is two-pronged: to eliminate illiteracy and to get children into the classroom.

On the eve of the revolution illiteracy stood at 98 percent and only four out of every 100 children went to school. Attendance is now 30 percent of the school age population.

The war, however, has restricted progress. Nearly 2,000 schools have been destroyed. A further obstacle has been the sheer variety of languages. There are over 20 ethnic groups, many of which are nomadic. Even so, 25,000 literacy courses were taught in 1985 and 516,000 people studied in classrooms in factories and other institutions.

There are also universities in the capital and Nangarhar, two polytechnics, 34 teachers' colleges and 17 medical colleges and hospitals.

But peace alone will not halt Afghanistan out of its inherited backwardness. Economic reforms are also essential. The new leadership introduced changes which at first seemed like concessions in relation to the socialist political platform. But, in fact, they proved essential as 80 percent of the GNP depends on the private sector and is essential to erase the memory of the more extremist measures under Amin.

Private ownership includes both small and medium-sized factories which have proved productive. This group of owners is participating in Afghan political life and has contributed to the reconciliation process. ▲

PRISMA 10/88

CHRONOLOGY

12/12 - SCMP - Afghan jets bombed Kandahar killing 43 people. The ROA Gov't said the bombing was a mistake.

12/13 - BNA - Extremists "devastated the beautiful city of Kunduz" & "wrecked its ancient wealth. They set fire to the public utility institutions including the Spinzar Company..."
- This year Army Peace Caravans have distributed over 16,000 tons of relief goods to deserving families & treated over 20,500 patients.

12/14 - SCMP - The USSR & the ROA said the new Pakistani Gov't "can play an important role in an Afghan settlement & assist the search for ways of starting constructive inter-Afghan dialogue."

12/15 - BNA - In Kabul about 200,000 sq. meters of road have been repaired & paved.

12/16 - SCMP - Younis Khalis's party called direct elections to the 7-Party Alliance's proposed shura "un-Islamic." His party advocates representation by "educated Muslims who have the support of the people," selected, presumably, by local notables.

12/18 - BNA - Retail & wholesale trade in 1987 amounted to \$222.67m for exports & \$787.87m for imports, according to the Commerce Ministry.

- In Geneva, Abdul Wakil met UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar.

12/19 - SCMP - The official Iranian news agency reported that there are almost 2.4m Afghan refugees living in Iran.

- BNA - Khalilullah was named ROA Min. of Transport; Mir Azmuddin became Min. of Communications.

- The repair & restoration of the "Bahramshah & the 3rd Sultan Masood minarets" in Ghazni have been completed. The job took 3 months & cost over Afs. 1m.

12/20 - SCMP - 20 ROA soldiers were killed & 60 injured when a Soviet-made Scud missile hit a garrison near Jalalabad. The missiles were fired from Kabul.

12/22 - HK Standard - The ROA will insist that any coalition gov't must include representatives from the PDPA, according

to ROA VP Abdul Hamid Mohtat.

"The PDPA (ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) is the main and prominent force in our society... It will play an important, basic and historic

role in a broad-based national coalition government," Mr Mohtat said in an interview with Agence France-Presse here on Tuesday.

12/23 - HK Standard - Najibullah called the resistance talks with Moscow a "turning point":

The president also hinted strongly that he would be willing to relinquish the presidency, a Mujahadeen demand, in the interests of peace, and even lay down his life for peace.

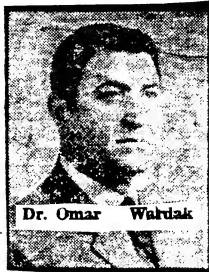
"If in the future the people have another wish, then their wish will be respected," Mr Najibullah told three journalists, including an Agence France-Presse correspondent, in an interview on Wednesday at

the presidential palace here.

"The fact that the opposition (the Mujahadeen) have decided after nine years to come to the negotiating table is a turning point," a relaxed Mr Najibullah said.

"They understand they cannot win (the war) by military means."

"But suppose for a moment they continue to opt for a military solution, then this conflict will continue," he added.



12/24 - KT - Dr. Omar Wardak, former Chmn. of the House of Representatives, died on 12/22 at the age of 72. A graduate of Kabul University's faculty of medicine, he was President of Aliabad Hospital. He also served as Gov. of Nangarhar & as Minister of the Interior.

12/26 - BNA - The ROA Constitutional Council met and discussed, among other things, merging Kapisa Province with Parwan, Kunar with Nangarhar & Paktika with Paktia.

- Sultan Ali Keshmmand led a delegation to Cuba to attend the 30th anniversary celebrations of the Cuban revolution.

12/27 - HK Standard - Gulbuddin Hekmatyar called the talks between ex-King Zahir Shah & Soviet Dep. For. Min. Vorontsov an attempt to widen dissension in the Afghan resistance. He also said:

"If any of the Islamic parties involved in the holy war against the enemy demonstrates willingness to come to terms with the Russians in agreeing on one of Mr Gorbachev's proposals, it will not be called an Islamic party," said Mr Hekmatyar. He warned that the "in-

ited Nations force in Afghanistan will be treated as invaders," adding: "Mr Gorbachev's proposal for an international conference is virtually meant to further deepen the differences among Mujahadeen on their common strategy."

Meanwhile, Rabbani was in Iran briefing the Iranian-based mujahideen on the Taif talks held in early December.

12/27 - BNA - The ROA Council of Ministers decided that the Finance Ministry should "take into consideration a cut in expenditure for the state budget in the next Afghan year."

- Kabul & Moscow signed a protocol for preliminary studies for a water supply & canalization project in Kabul city. Abdul Hakim is the Mayor of Kabul.

12/28 - SCMP - Iranian Prime Min. Mousavi was quoted by BBC as telling Rabbani that the war in Afghanistan must continue until an Islamic gov't rules in Kabul.

- HK Standard - Britain's For. Sec'y Sir Geoffrey Howe said that now was the time to heal wounds, not to settle old grudges:

"The transition from the present unrepresentative regime in Kabul to a government established by a genuine act of self-determination will not be easy, he said.

"If still more bloodshed is to be avoided the regime must step down of its own accord — the sooner the better. But it is also important that all parties including the resistance exercise wisdom and restraint."

- BNA - Celebrations began today to mark the 24th anniversary of the founding of the PDPA under the slogan: "24 years struggle for peace & social progress."

12/29 - HK Standard - To mark the 9th anniversary of the Soviet invasion, mujahideen staged attacks on Kabul, Gardez, Herat, Ghazni & Kunduz.

- US Undersec'y of State

Michael Armacost said the US would place no obstacles in the way of Zahir Shah's return to Afghanistan if that was the Afghan people's wish.

- BNA - Although 15 new designs were distributed to carpet manufacturers this year, a commission has been assigned to "choose new designs demanded by foreign markets."

- "Palwasha," a recent fortnightly publication edited by Shah Zaman Wrez Stanizai, belongs to no organization or party. Its objective is "ensuring of real independence of the ancient land of the Afghan & lasting peace & security in the country."

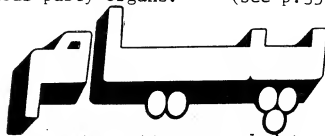
12/31 - HK Standard - While in Iran, Rabbani agreed to hold a joint strategy meeting in Peshawar on 2/15 with the 7-Party Alliance & an 8-party coalition based in Iran. The meeting is to decide on the "future gov't of Afghanistan."



Burhanuddin Rabbani

12/31 - SCMP - Farid Zarif, former Afghan Ambassador to the UN, is the personal foreign affairs adviser to Najibullah.

- The 1st issue of Payam, organ of the PDPA CC appeared today. The 4-page daily will continue the "path followed by Haqiqat-e-Enqilab-e-Saur & other previous party organs." (See p.35)



- The 24th anniversary of the PDPA was marked around the country today by the armed forces, party & state organs.

1/1 -BNA - The Ansarullah Union [a recently formed ROA political party] became a collective member of the Nat'l Front. The party demanded the membership.

1/2 - HK Standard - UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuéllar expressed concern over the slow pace of developments toward a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan & urged an intra-Afghan dialogue aimed at setting up a broad-based gov't. The European Economic Community urged all concerned parties to respect the Geneva agreements.

- BNA - 23 intersections in Kabul have traffic lights; however, there are 400 traffic signs.

1/3 - PT - Gulbuddin complained of an "int'l conspiracy" to install a weak regime in Afghanistan under Zahir Shah so as to prepare ground for outside military intervention. The plan, he said, was engineered by the "enemies of the Afghan nation" - mainly India, England & certain "chauvinistic Jewish circles" to prevent the establishment of an Islamic gov't in Afghanistan.

- SCMP - And from Najibullah:

Mr Najibullah said "some persons and circles still irresponsibly think" that peace would return if his People's Democratic Party government left the scene.

"No, it is not so. Such persons and circles are committing mistakes," he said.

He said bloodshed would go on for a long time because of the rivalries between rebel

groups "if the present state of the republic of Afghanistan pulls out from the political scene". . .

"If extremists and the enemies of peace continue their way and insist on intensification of war and

bloodshed, we would adopt reciprocal measures and give them tooth-breaking responses," he said.

1/3 - BNA - "Despite of obstacles created by Iran & Pakistan vis-a-vis Afghan refugees, they are returning home through impractical ways both collectively & individually."

- The ROA Council of Ministers set up a commission to study "how to preserve & safeguard in a better manner the historical relics & the museums."

- Najibullah endorsed the "Banner Law & State Order of the RA" (7 chapters & 38 articles) & amendments to Article 75 of the Constitution.

1/4 - HK Standard - Sibghatullah Mojaddidi on a temporary shora [Mojaddiddi became Chairman of the Peshawar Alliance in 1/1, not 12/15 as reported in the last issue. Ed.]:

"Time is too short to hold elections in Afghanistan so we have decided to select a temporary shora made up of commanders, intellectuals, political leaders in Iran and others," said Mr Mojaddidi.

He said the assembly would convene in two or three weeks

time and make preparations to administer Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, due to be completed next month.

He added that guerrilla commanders would make up 50 percent of the assembly and all parties would have an equal share of appointments.

- SCMP - Soviet 1st Dep. For. Min. Yuli Vorontsov has been meeting in Tehran with Iran-based Afghan guerrillas. Vorontsov will arrive in Islamabad today.



Soviet Ambassador to Kabul Yuli Vorontsov (left) talks with heads of an alliance of Iran-based Afghan Mujahedeens in Tehran.

1/5 - SCMP - About 30,000 Afghan guerrillas are being deployed around Kabul to "take stock of the situation in view of the inevitable fall of the ROA Gov't."

1/7 - SCMP - The ROA military says it has "formed new intervention units & we can counter rapidly in a radius of 30-40 kms. around Kabul." Kabul Commander Gen. Qorban Cherzad said Kabul has new systems in the 2 defense belts around the city & had ended guerrilla penetration. The

ROA has BM-27 220mm rocket launchers which have 16 tubes & a range of 40 kms. Diplomats say Kabul could resist guerrilla attacks for between 2 - 6 months.

- HK Standard - The Afghan News Agency reports that Gulbuddin has put his fighters on a "red alert":

It said that about 20,000 of his guerrillas from northern Kapisa province were being mobilised for "combat readiness" around the Afghan capital and added that some 10,000 guerrillas had already been deployed in the area.

Mr Hekmatyar was also planning to set up a military council, comprising his top field commanders and based near the

capital, which would coordinate a "unified strategy to take over Kabul after the Soviet withdrawal," it said.

The agency did not say if other groups in the seven-party resistance alliance based in Pakistan had been asked to cooperate with the Hezbe Islami faction, which is striving for a military solution to the Afghanistan problem. — AP, AFP

- BNA - This year, 2025 land plots were distributed to people in the Khair Khana area of Kabul city. The Kabul municipality has adopted a plan to distribute 13,211 plots in the Pul-e-Charkhi area "to those who are economically weak."

1/8 - BNA - In an interview for German radio, Najibullah said: "The talk held between Yuli Vorontsov... & representatives of the 7-Alliance is in fact the result of our direct contacts with the opposition & thus we consider it as a logical gain of the policy of nat'l reconciliation."

1/9 - HK Standard - ROA Politburo member, Najmuddin Kawani, said the PDPA now has 200,000 members of which 62% are active in the armed forces.

Mr Kawani also said deposed King Zahir Shah could play a role in ending the Afghan war.

Mr Kawani said that Zahir Shah, the deposed Afghan monarch living in Italy, "can play a role in a political settlement of Afghanistan".

"We're waiting for him to express a point of view. We're interested in a settlement. The return of Zahir Shah does not mean a return of the monarchy," Mr Kawani said.



Najmuddin Kawani

1/10 - NYT - Alliance leaders refused to resume direct talks with Soviet representatives.

Today, the spokesman for the insurgents, Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, said at a news conference: "Because the Soviets use threats, look for war rather than peace and disrespect Afghans' right of self-determination, we believe that negotiations are unproductive and unnecessary. The Soviets' efforts to impose a government of their choice on the Afghan nation will protract the war and kill our people."



■ Mr Vorontsov

1/11 - NYT - Mr Vorontsov said, "There is a serious danger that things may develop in such a way that the Soviet Union might not be able, within the nearest future, to do what we have in principle decided to do."

- The USSR reportedly closed its military hospital in Kabul Last week & evacuated its sick & wounded troops.

- SCMP - Abdul Haq predicted that Kabul would fall within a few weeks after the Soviets completed their withdrawal.

1/12 - PT - ROA Dep. Trade Minister Fateh Moh'd Tareen said that the present food situation in Afghanistan is the worst since the 1972 drought.

- NYT - The US cut its refugee quota for the Near East, which includes Iran & Afghanistan, by 500. The annual total will be 6,500.

1/13 - PT - Benazir Bhutto said that no external "formula" could be imposed on Afghanistan. "The Afghans have fought on their own & would not accept any other country's advice regarding the kind of arrangements they have to make for themselves."

- SCMP - Afghan rebels based in Iran are ready to hold more talks with Moscow if Moscow comes up with new proposals. But Moh'd Karim Khalili, representative of the Iranian groups, said there would be no progress unless Moscow ceased backing the Najibullah gov't.

- LA News - Afghan troops have begun replacing Soviet troops defending the Kabul perimeter.

1/15 - BNA - Over 40,000 people visited the Afghan Nat'l Gallery this year. "735 art pieces, including 110 foreign art pieces from Japan, Germany, the USSR & China, were purchased & are housed in the Gallery. The process of purchasing more art pieces from local artists is continuing."

- HK Standard - The price of nan in Kabul is now about Afs. 15. A US \$ is worth Afs. 200 on the black market. Large areas of Kabul are without power for up to 6 hours/day. (See 1/29)

1/15 - NYT - Soviet For. Min. Shevardnadze paid a 2-day visit to Kabul. He said the Soviet troops would be out by 2/15, but that if fighting continued, the Soviets would continue to deliver military supplies to its allies. The LAT reported that Shevardnadze met with Najibullah and repeated Soviet assurances of "all-round assistance under treaties & agreements concluded by the 2 countries."

1/16 - BNA - While in Kabul, Shevardnadze met with Najibullah, Sharq, Wakil, the governors of Kandahar & Herat & others.

- LAT - Shevardnadze said the Soviets would not permit rebels to interfere with Moscow's obligations to supply the Kabul Gov't "despite all obstacles."



- SCMP - Sibghatullah Mojadeddi arrived in Tehran last Saturday to attend a 2-day seminar on Afghanistan sponsored by the Iranian Gov't. In an interview, he said the mujahideen planned to send representatives to Arab capitals for more support & that they were optimistic about backing from the Bush administration.

- NYT - The AICMB reported that Moscow has sent Soviet militiamen with Afghan ID cards into Kandahar, Herat & Farah Provinces. Most of them are Dari speakers & were recruited from areas just north of the Soviet-Afghan border.

چه خدای کوی
هغه به وشی خو
د اړیو کونډه
تېله ونږه

Trust in God,
but tie
your camel.

1/17 - LAT - Gulbuddin announced that Afghan guerrilla parties would meet on 2/1 to approve an interim gov't. Each party will name 60 delegates; however, the representation from the Iranian based parties has not yet been determined.

1/18 - PT - Jamaat-i-Islami in Rawalpindi expressed its concern over the role of Pakistan TV & radio. The party claims that the jihad in Afghanistan is not receiving due coverage.

1/18 - NYT - Soviet troops reportedly are leaving Kabul by the hundreds in daily airlifts.



Manchester (CT) Herald 2/4

1/19 - BNA - The Afghan Red Crescent Society announced an agreement reached between it & "peace villages" of the FRG whereby 30 war-affected Afghan children will be treated in Germany (see p. 17).

- The latest rains & snowfall in Afghanistan promise a good year for Afghan agriculture.

1/20 - BNA - Najibullah sent a congratulatory telegram to George Bush (see p.19).

1/21 - NYT - US State Dept. officials say the Soviets are using a new, heavier bomb against the Afghan guerrillas. The bombs, possibly weighing 12,000 lbs, were dropped from Backfire bombers in an area north of Kabul within the last week.

1/22 - NYT - West Germany's diplomatic staff left Kabul yesterday. Moscow began airlifting emergency food supplies into Kabul.

- LA Daily News:

Workers in Kabul are felling an avenue of trees and leveling the ground on either side of a long, wide road that runs from the Darulaman Palace, headquarters of the Defense Ministry, past the Soviet Embassy.

It is wide enough to accommodate smaller Antonov transports and there is speculation the Soviets are preparing an emergency airstrip.

Indications are that thousands of Afghans, including supporters or beneficiaries of the current regime, are trying to slip away or make arrangements for quick exits.

1/23 - NYT - The Alliance-sponsored council meeting (see 1/17) has been put off until 2/10 because the leaders need more time to resolve their differences with the Iranian-based groups. The Peshawar Alliance offered the Iranian groups 60 seats on the 480-member council.

- A Soviet opinion:

"We have not succeeded in everything we planned to do here," Maj. Gen. Lev Serebrov, a political officer at military headquarters in Kabul, told Western journalists. "We came here with an honorable task, with open hearts. We are leaving, and we have a sense of not having accomplished our mission to the end."

1/24 - Asbury Park Press - The USSR stepped up airlifts of food to Kabul. The Soviets blamed the food shortages on Afghan authorities & hoarders. (See 1/25)

- NYT - The US will reduce its Embassy staff to 8 people. The Soviets are reducing their staff from 400 to 100 & bringing staff members into the Embassy compound. The Soviets are also withdrawing most of their civilian & military advisers. All Eastern bloc military advisers are leaving Afghanistan.

1/25 - PT - Tass accused ranking Afghan communists of criminal negligence, & even sabotage, for failing to head off the current food crisis in Kabul.

- LAT -

Secretary of State George P. Shultz argued unsuccessfully that the Soviet Union should be rewarded for a timely withdrawal from Afghanistan with an easing of U.S. trade restrictions. The New York Times reported. The newspaper said Shultz's recommendation was contained in a classified letter to Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci, written on Jan. 19, the last full day in office for the two men. Citing unnamed officials, the report said Shultz argued that since the curbs were tied to the Soviet invasion they should be lifted once the withdrawal is completed. Soviet troops are scheduled to complete their pullout by Feb. 15.

- US State Dept. spokesman Charles Redman said Soviet war planes were bombing targets around Kunduz, Kandahar & Jalalabad - where there are no Soviet troops garrisoned. He called this "a clear violation of Soviet assurances to us not to engage in offensive operations during the withdrawal. This daily bombardment is unacceptable." Moscow Radio accused the "extremists" of preventing the normal supply of food to Kabul. Redman said the rebels had stopped attacking the withdrawing Soviet forces.

1/26 - Asbury Park Press - On the food shortages:

Soviet soldiers handed out emergency rations yesterday and the mayor of Kabul said his city has a three-month supply of food and fuel in case of a guerrilla siege when the Red Army is gone.

U.N. aid officials, less optimistic, said much more must be brought in "if disaster is to be averted" and they were preparing contingency plans.

1/27 - NYT - Soviet gunners wiped out Afghan villages along the Salang highway, killing hundreds of villagers. The Asbury Park Press stated that eyewitnesses reported "Soviet tanks rolling over dead bodies of victims."

- NYT - For security reasons US Sec'y of State James Baker ordered the closing of the US Embassy in Kabul.

- UN officials said that Najibullah had invited UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar to visit Kabul to explore ways of avoiding a bloodbath. They added that de Cuellar saw no use in such a visit at present.

- Pravda acknowledged that 100 Soviet troops had moved back to Kandahar, which they had left last August, to help ROA troops hold the airfield open for supplies.

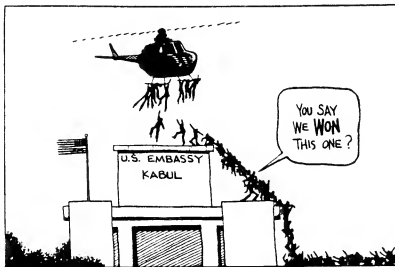
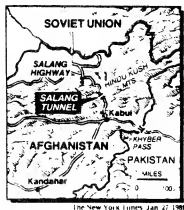
- Another Soviet opinion: "It's a defeat, no question about it," an aide in the Communist Party's Central Committee told an American friend this week. "We had your experience in Vietnam right before our eyes, and we still went in like fools. The only thing we've been able to avoid is having to evacuate the last people from our Embassy in Kabul on helicopter skids."

- BNA - An ROA Foreign Affairs Min. spokesman said of the decision of some countries to evacuate their Kabul embassies: "Their actions do not mean that they do not believe in the power of the armed forces but it means they are afraid of the subversive activities of the armed extremist groups. These countries would soon realize that they had made useless decision because the armed forces will never allow anyone to disturb security of Kabul citizens, especially of the staffs of the embassies & int'l institutions."

- 25 kms. of the Kabul-Cardez highway, blocked for 7 months, has been reopened to traffic & "strong military posts have been set up as well."

Friction over the supply situation has been evident between the government and the Soviet military, which must be out of Afghanistan by Feb. 15 under a U.N.-mediated agreement signed in April.

Maj. Gen. Lev Serebrov, deputy Soviet commander in Afghanistan, complained this week that his army had to feed all 2.3 million people in the city. He accused the Afghan regime of inefficiency and failing to ask for help in time.



AUTH: THE PHRYGIAN INQUIRY

1/28 - PT - Diego Cordovez plans to visit Islamabad & Kabul to witness the departure of the last Soviet troops.

- Epidemics of diarrhoea & urinary diseases are proving fatal around Jalalabad due to the lack of medicine & fresh food as well as "adulteration."

- LAT - France, Italy, Britain & Japan will pull their diplomats out of Afghanistan. Tass called the moves unjustified & said they reflected an attempt to undermine confidence in the Najibullah gov't.

- Soviet Defense Min. Yazov flew into Kabul to meet with Najibullah.

- BNA - Bakhtar blames the food & fuel shortages in Kabul on snow & Ahmad Shah Masood & his men who they claim have blockaded the Salang highway. The ROA has repeatedly asked Masood to give up.

- NYT - Pres. Bush said the US would try to play "a catalytic role for helping bring about stability, hopefully in a gov't where the people have a lot of say. And it won't be easy."

1/29 - PT - Pakistan's For. Min. Yaqub Khan left for Riyadh to discuss the Afghan situation with Saudi leaders.

- Asbury Park Press - The Iranians will keep their Kabul Embassy open but workmen erected ½" thick steel plates around its 8' high walls.
- NYT - In Kabul the black market rate for the US \$ is Afs. 230.

- Soviet Defense Min. Dmitri Yazov & Najibullah reached a "unity of views" on military, political & economic issues after a 2-day meeting in Kabul. They discussed long-term Soviet economic aid to Afghanistan.

- BNA - ROA Prime Min. Sharq visited warehouses in Balkh & Hairatan & instructed the responsible persons to expedite the transfer of consumer goods to Kabul & other areas.

1/30 - NYT - Richard Murphy, the senior Middle East policymaker during the Reagan Administration, said the US could not prevent the mujahideen from accelerating their onslaught against the ROA regime. He also stressed that the Bush Administration would not try to determine the shape of a future Afghan gov't. The primary role of the US would be to help rebuild the country & ease the return of the 5m refugees.

"Let's hope that the agony will be short and that there won't be bloodshed of Afghan against Afghan," Mr. Murphy said. "We'll do what we can to that end, we'll urge that, but there are very deep passions aroused against the occupier and they will be turned against those who have been central to the regime."

"We're looking at a painful moment," he said.

- LAT - A Soviet economic delegation in Kabul discussed how the USSR would "thwart the opposition's plans to establish an economic blockade of the capital." Moscow will supply food, fuel & "essentials."

- PT - Iranian For. Min. Velayati will arrive in Islamabad tomorrow, probably to discuss the difficulties the mujahideen are having in putting together a consultative group.

- BNA - New stamps were issued yesterday to commemorate the 2nd anniversary of nat'l reconciliation, the 69th anniversary of Afghan independence, the 125th anniversary of the Int'l Red Cross & the birth centennial of Nehru. 7 other new stamps show Afghan fruits.

1/31 - PT - The Pakistani For. Min. returned from Riyadh:

speaking to newsmen at the Islamabad Airport on his return from a two-day visit to Riyadh. Sahabzada Yaqub said. Saudi Arabia had always provided very valuable material and moral support in the Afghanistan crisis. The brotherly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, like Pakistan, had evinced keen interest in the efforts to resolve the issue. He said, the people of both Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the Afghan refugees and Mujahideen, felt deeply indebted to the brotherly Kingdom for standing by us in this crisis. . . . Sahabzada Yaqub said he went to Riyadh at the invitation of Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al Faisal so that "we could have a deep insight into the crucial position of Afghanistan".

In response to the question of Pakistan's exerting pressure on the mujahideen, he said, "We give advice to mujahideen only because of our close friendship with them."

1/31 - HK Standard - An ROA official dismissed as "pure propaganda" Western reports that hundreds of civilians had been killed by Soviet reprisal bombings along the Salang highway last week (see 1/27). He said that only 25 civilians had been killed & that Soviet forces had not been involved.

- NYT - Last weekend the US State Dept. sent formal notes to some US Embassies in Europe, the Middle East & South Asia instructing them to deny visas to anyone attached to the ROA Gov't or the PDPA.

- A blizzard prevented US diplomats from leaving Kabul after closing the US Embassy.

Reuters reported from Kabul that after a Marine guard lowered the American flag at the fortified embassy, John Glassman, the charge d'affaires, declared:

"God bless the United States of America. We're going home. We are leaving for security reasons. We'll be back as soon as the conflict is over."

- BNA - The Central Statistics Office reported that since 1980, Kabul's population has increased 53%. 215,000 households numbering 1,420,000 people live in the capital. Of Kabul's 11 precincts, the 11th is the most populous with 211,600 people. The 2nd precinct is the least dense with 52,100 people.

- In Kabul, greenhouses built in 1986-87 cover 2,680 sq. meters of land & provide "ample quantities of tomato & cucumbers for Kabul residents during the winter."

- Iranian For. Min. Velayati ruled out any role for ex-King Zaher Shah in the future of Afghanistan. "This irresponsible assertion...is in fact a clear interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan."

- PT - Another Soviet in Kabul:



Ali Akbar Velayati

The latest Soviet official to arrive in Kabul for talks with Afghan officials is the First Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Yuri Maslyukov. BBC correspondent reports from the Afghan capital that his visit forms part of Moscow's efforts to reassure the Government there that it will continue its support. . . .

While Western diplomats partly about to leave the embattled capital this week, say Moscow is making

every effort to re-assure its support will not end with the departure of Russian troops next month.

The Defence Minister General Demitri Yazov had barely left Kabul on his way back to the Kremlin. Maslyukov will be discussing economic assistance for a country which has been systematically devastated by nine years of war. He is the first high ranking economic expert to visit here since the two countries signed a series of agreement last September in Moscow.

The accords underscored Af-

ghanistan's almost complete dependence on the Soviet Union for the supply of basic foodstuffs as well as fuel and technical equipment. But as one Soviet official put it, it is hard to discuss rehabilitation when no one is sure when the war and destruction will stop.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Centre <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- Christian Science Monitor
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	- German Democratic Republic
IHT	- Int'l Herald Tribune
KT	- Kabul Times
LAT	- Los Angeles Times
NGO	- Non Governmental <u>Organization</u>
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- New York Times
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- Pakistan Times
PVO	- Private Voluntary Organization
RC	- Revolutionary Council
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- South China Morning Post
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNGOMAP	- United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan & Pakistan
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WSJ	- Wall Street Journal

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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